HISTORY

OFTHE

DECLINE AND FALL

OFTHE

ROMAN EMPIRE.

BY EDWARD GIBBON, Esq.

VOLUME THE SIXTH.

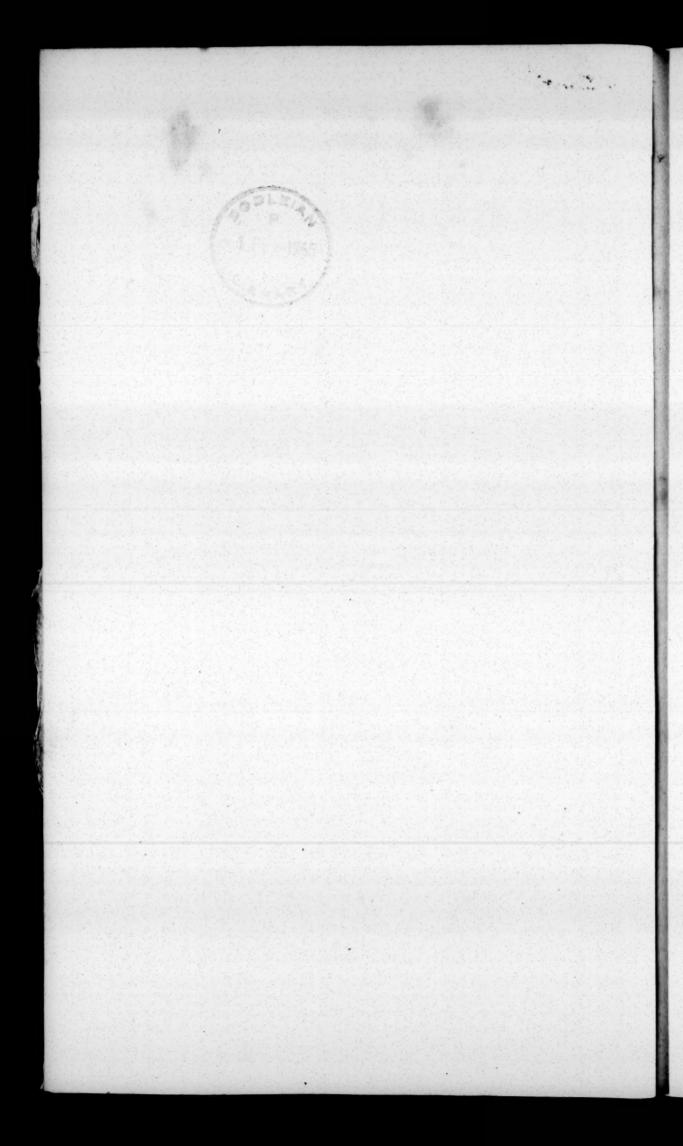
Jam provideo animo, velut qui, proximis littori vadis inducti, mare pedibus ingrediuntur, quicquid progredior, in vaitiorem me altitudinem, ac velut profundum invehi; et crescere pene opus, quod prima quæque perficiendo minui videbatur.

THE SIXTHEDITION,

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HISTORY

OF THE

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ROMAN EMPIRE.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Death of Honorius.—Valentinian III. Emperor of the East.—Administration of his Mother Placidia.—Ætius and Boniface—Conquest of Africa by the Vandals.

DURING a long and disgraceful reign of Last years twenty-eight years, Honorius, emperor of and death of Hono-the West, was separated from the friendship of rius, A.D. his brother, and afterwards of his nephew, who 423, Aug. reigned over the East; and Constantinople be-27. held, with apparent indifference and secret joy, the calamities of Rome. The strange adventures of Placidia (1) gradually renewed, and cement-Vol. VI.—F

ed, the alliance of the two empires. The daughter of the great Theodosius had been the captive and the queen of the Goths: the loft an affectionate husband; she was dragged in chains by his infulting affassin; she tasted the pleasure of revenge, and was exchanged, in the treaty of peace, for fix hundred thousand measures of wheat, After her return from Spain to Italy, Placidia experienced a new perfecution in the bosom of her family. She was averse to a marriage, which had been stipulated without her consent; and the brave Constantins, as a noble reward for the tyrants whom he had vanquished, received, from the hand of Honorius himself, the struggling and reluctant hand of the widow of Adolphus. But her refistance ended with the ceremony of the nuptials; nor did Placidia refuse to become the mother of Honoria and Valentinian the third, or to affume and exercise an absolute dominion over the mind of her grateful husband. The generous foldier, whose time had hitherto been divided between focial pleasure and military service, was taught new leffons of avarice and ambition: he extorted the title of Augustus; and the servant of Honorius was affociated to the empire of the West. The death of Constantius, in the feventh month of his reign, instead of diminishing, seemed to increase, the power of Placidia; and the indecent familiarity (2) of her brother, which

⁽²⁾ Τα συνιχη κατα τομα φιληματα, is the expression of Olympiodorus (apud Photium, p. 197.); who means, perhaps, to describe the same caresses which Mahomet bestowed on his daughter Phatemah. Quando (says the prophet himself), quando subit mihi desiderium Paradis, osculor eam, et ingero linguam meam in os ejus. But this sensual indulgence was justified by miracle and mystery; and the anecdote has been communicated to the public by the Reverend Father Maracci, in his Version and Consutation of the Korau, tom. i. p. 34.

which might be no more than the fymptoms of a childish affection, were universally attributed to incestuous love. On a sudden, by some base intrigues of a steward and a nurse, this excessive fondness was converted into an irreconcileable quarrel: the debates of the emperor and his fifter were not long confined within the walls of the palace; and as the Gothic foldiers adhered to their queen, the city of Ravenna was agitated with bloody and dangerous tumults, which could only be appealed by the forced or voluntary retreat of Placidia and her children. The royal exiles landed at Constantinople, foon after the marriage of Theodofius, during the festival of the Persian victories. They were treated with kindness and magnificence; but as the statues of the emperor Constantius had been rejected by the Eastern court, the title of Augusta could not decently be allowed to his widow. Within a few months after the arrival of Placidia, a swift mesfenger announced the death of Honorius, the confequence of a dropfy; but the important fecret was not divulged, till the necessary orders had been dispatched for the march of a large body of troops to the sea-coast of Dalmatia. shops and the gates of Constantinople remained fhut during feven days; and the loss of a foreign prince, who could neither be esteemed nor regretted, was celebrated with loud and affected demonstrations of the public grief.

While the ministers of Constantinople delibe-Elevation rated, the vacant throne of Honorius was usurp-and fall of the usurper ed by the ambition of a stranger. The name of John, the rebel was John: he filled the considential of-A. D. 423 fice of *Primicerius*, or principal secretary; and 425. history has attributed to his character more virtues, than can easily be reconciled with the vio-

lation

THE DECLINE AND FALL

lation of the most facred duty. Elated by the submission of Italy, and the hope of an alliance with the Huns, John presumed to insult, by an embassy, the majesty of the Eastern emperor; but when he understood that his agents had been banished, imprisoned, and at length chaced away with deserved ignominy, John prepared to affert, by arms, the injustice of his claims. In such a cause, the grandson of the great Theodosius should have marched in person: but the young emperor was eafily diverted, by his physicians, from so rash and hazardous a design; and the conduct of the Italian expedition was prudently entrusted to Ardaburius, and his fon Aspar, who had already fignalifed their valour against the Persians. It was resolved, that Ardaburius should embark with the infantry; whilst Aspar, at the head of the cavalry, conducted Placidia, and her fon Valentinian, along the sea-coast of the Hadriatic. The march of the cavalry was performed with such active diligence, that they surprised, without relistance, the important city of Aquileia; when the hopes of Aspar were unexpectedly confounded by the intelligence, that a storm had dispersed the Imperial fleet; and that his father, with only two gallies, was taken and carried a prisoner into the port of Ravenna. Yet this incident, unfortunate as it might seem, facilitated the conquest of Italy. Ardaburius employed. or abused, the courteous freedom, which he was permitted to enjoy, to revive among the troops a fense of loyalty and gratitude; and, as soon as the conspiracy was ripe for execution, he invited by private messages, and pressed the approach of, Aspar. A shepherd, whom the popular credulity transformed into an angel, guided the Eastern cavalry, by a fecret, and, it was thought, an impassable

impassable road, through the morasses of the Po: the gates of Ravenna, after a short struggle, were thrown open; and the defenceless tyrant was delivered to the mercy, or rather to the cruelty, of the conquerors. His right hand was first cut off; and, after he had been exposed, mounted on an ass, to the public derision, John was beheaded in the Circus of Aquileia. The emperor Theodosius, when he received the news of the victory, interrupted the horse-races; and singing, as he marched through the streets, a suitable psalm, conducted his people from the Hippodrome to the church, where he spent the remainder of the day in grateful devotion (3).

In a monarchy, which, according to various Valentiniprecedents, might be confidered as elective, or an III. emhereditary, or patrimonial, it was impossible that west,
the intricate claims of female and collaterial suc-A. D. 425
cession should be clearly defined (4); and Theodosius, by the right of confanguinity, or conquest, might have reigned the sole legitimate emperor of the Romans. For a moment, perhaps,
his eyes were dazzled by the prospect of unbounded sway; but his indolent temper gradually acquiesced in the dictates of sound policy.
He contented himself with the possession of the
East; and wisely relinquished the laborious task,
of waging a distant and doubtful war against the
Barbarians

⁽³⁾ For these revolutions of the Western empire, consult Olympiodor. apud Phot. p. 192, 193. 196, 197. 200. Sozomen, l. ix. c. 16. Socrates, l. vii. 23, 24. Philostorgius, l. xii. c. 10, 11. and Godefroy, Dissertat. p. 486. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3. p. 182, 183. Theophanes, in Chronograph. p. 72, 73. and the Chronicles.

⁽⁴⁾ See Grotius de Jure Belli et Pacis, 1. ii. c. 7. He has laboriously, but vainly, attempted to form a reasonable system of jurisprudence, from the various and discordant modes of royal succession, which have been introduced by fraud, or force, by time, or accident.

Barbarians beyond the Alps; or of fecuring the obedience of the Italians and Africans, whose minds were alienated by the irreconcileable difference of language and interest. Instead of listening to the voice of ambition, Theodofius refolved to imitate the moderation of his grand-father, and to feat his cousin Valentinian on the throne of the The royal infant was diffinguished at Constantinople by the title of Nobilissimus: he was promoted, before his departure from Theffalonica, to the rank and dignity of Cæsar; and, after the conquest of Italy, the patrician Helion, by the authority of Theodofius, and in the presence of the senate, saluted Valentinian the third by the name of Augustus, and solemnly invested him with the diadem, and the Imperial purple (5). By the agreement of the three females who governed the Roman world, the fon of Placidia was betrothed to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius and Athenais; and, as soon as the lover and his bride had attained the age of puberty, this honourable alliance was faithfully accomplished. At the same time, as a compensation, perhaps, for the expences of the war, the Western Illyricum was detached from the Italian dominions, and yielded to the throne of Constantinople (6). The emperor of the East acquired the useful dominion of the rich and maritime province of Dalmatia, and the dangerous fovereignty of Pannonia and Noricum, which had been filled and ravaged above twenty years, by a promiscuous

⁽⁵⁾ The original writers are not agreed (see Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 139.), whether Valentinian received the Imperial diadem at Rome or Ravenna. In this uncertainty, I am willing to believe, that some respect was shewn to the senate.

⁽⁶⁾ The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 292-300.) has established the reality, explained the motives, and traced the consequences, of this remarkable cession.

miscuous crowd of Huns, Ostrogoths, Vandals, and Bavarians. Theodofius and Valentinian continued to respect the obligations of their public and domestic alliance; but the unity of the Roman government was finally diffolved. By a pofitive declaration, the validity of all future laws was limited to the dominions of their peculiar author; unless he should think proper to communicate them, subscribed with his own hand, for the approbation of his independent col-

league (7).

Valentinian, when he received the title of Au-Adminifgustus, was no more than fix years of age: and tration of his mother his long minority was entrusted to the guardian Placidia, care of a mother, who might affert a female A. D. 425 claim to the fuccession of the Western empire. -450. Placidia envied, but the could not equal, the reputation and virtues of the wife and fifter of Theodofius; the elegant genius of Eudocia, the wife and fuccessful policy of Pulcheria. The mother of Valentinian was jealous of the power. which she was incapable of exercising (8): she reigned twenty five years, in the name of her fon; and the character of that unworthy emperor gradually countenanced the suspicion, that Placidia had enervated his youth by a dissolute education, and

(7) See the first Novel of Theodofins, by which he ratifies and communicates (A. D. 438.) the Theodosian Code. About forty years before that time, the unity of legislation had been proved by an exception. The Jews, who were numerous in the cities of Apulia and Calabria, produced a law of the East to justify their exemption from municipal offices (Cod. Theod. 1. xvi. tit. viii. leg. 13.); and the Western emperor was obliged to invalidate, by a special edict, the law quam constat meis partibus esse damnosam. Cod. Theod. l. xi. tit. i. leg. 158.

(8) Caffiodorius (Variar. 1. xi. epift. i. p. 238.) has compared the regencies of Placidia and Amalasuntha. He arraigns the weakness of the mother of Valentinian, and praises the virtues of his royal mistress. On this occasion, flattery feems to have spoken

the language of truth.

Her two generals, Boniface,

and studiously diverted his attention from every manly and honourable pursuit. Amidst the de-Ætius and cay of military spirit, her armies were commanded by two generals, Ætius (9) and Boniface (10), who may be deservedly named as the last of the Their union might have supported a Romans. finking empire; their discord was the fatal and immediate cause of the loss of Africa. The invasion and defeat of Attila has immortalized the fame of Ætius; and though time has thrown a shade over the exploits of his rival, the defence of Marscelles, and the deliverance of Africa, attest the military talents of count Boniface. In the field of battle, in partial encounters, in fingle combats, he was still the terror of the Barbarians: the clergy, and particularly his friend Augustin, were edified by the Christian piety, which had once tempted him to retire from the world; the people applauded his spotless integrity; the army dreaded his equal and inexorable justice, which may be displayed in a very fingular example. A peafant, who complained of the criminal intimacy between his wife and a Gothic foldier, was directed to attend his tribunal the following day: in the evening the count, who had diligently informed himself of the time and place of the affignation, mounted his horse, rode ten miles into the country, surprised the guilty couple, punished the foldier

⁽⁹⁾ Philostorgius, I. xii. c. 12. and Godefroy's Dissertat. p. 493, &c.; and Renatus Frigeridus, apud Gregor. Turon. I. ii. c. 8. in tom. ii. p. 163. The father of Ætius was Gaudentius, an illustrious citizen of the province of Scythia, and master-general of the cavalty: his mother was a rich and noble Italian. From his earliest youth, Ætius, as a soldier and a hostage, had conversed with the Barbarians.

⁽¹⁰⁾ For the character of Boniface, see Olympiodorus, apud Phot. p. 196.; and St. Augustin, apud Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 712-715, 886. The bishop of Hippo at length deplored the fall of his friend, who, after a solemn vow of chastity, had married a second wife of the Arian sect, and who was suspected of keeping several concubines in his house.

Boniface in

A. D. 427.

dier with instant death, and silenced the complaints of the husband, by presenting him, the next morning, with the head of the adulterer. The abilities of Ætius and Boniface might have been usefully employed against the public enemies, in separate and important commands; but the experience of their past conduct should have decided the real favour and confidence of the empress Placidia. In the melancholy season of her exile and diffress, Boniface alone had maintained her cause with unshaken fidelity; and the troops and treasures of Africa had essentially contributed to extinguish the rebellion. The same rebellion had been supported by the zeal and activity of Ætius, who brought an army of fixty thousand Huns from the Danube to the confines of Italy. for the service of the usurper. The untimely death of John, compelled him to accept an advantageous treaty; but he still continued, the subject and the foldier of Valentinian, to entertain a fecret, perhaps a treasonable, correspondence with his Barbarian allies, whose retreat had been purchased by liberal gifts, and more liberal promises. But Ætius possessed an advantage of singular moment in a female reign: he was prefent: he befieged, with artful and affiduous flattery, the palace of Ravenna; disguised his dark designs with the malk of loyalty and friendship; and at length deceived both his miftress and his absent rival, by a fubtle conspiracy, which a weak woman, and a brave man, could not eafily suspect. He secretly Error and perfuaded (11) Placidia to recall Boniface from the revolt of government Africa,

⁽¹¹⁾ Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3, 4. p. 182-186.) relates the fraud of Ætius, the revolt of Boniface, and the lofs of Africa. This anecdote, which is supported by some collateral testimony (fee Ruinart, Hist. Persecut. Vandal. p. 420, 421.), feems agreeable to the practice of ancient and modern courts, and would be naturally revealed by the repentance of Boniface.

government of Africa; he fecretly advised Boniface to disobey the Imperial summons: to the one, he represented the order as a sentence of death; to the other, he stated the refusal as a signal of revolt; and when the credulous and unsuspectful count had armed the province in his defence, Ætius applauded his fagacity in foreseeing the rebellion, which his own perfidy had excited. temperate enquiry into the real motives of Boniface, would have restored a faithful servant to his duty and to the republic; but the arts of Ætius ftill continued to betray and to inflame, and the count was urged, by perfecution, to embrace the most desperate counsels. The success with which he eluded or repelled the first attacks, could not inspire a vain confidence, that, at the head of fome loofe, diforderly Africans, he should be able to withstand the regular forces of the West, commanded by a rival, whose military character it was impossible for him to despise. After some helitation, the last struggles of prudence and loyalty, Boniface dispatched a trusty friend to the court, or rather to the camp, of Gonderic, king of the Vandals, with the propofal of a ftrict alliance, and the offer of an advantageous and perpetual settlement.

He invites dals, A. D. 128,

After the retreat of the Goths, the authority the Van- of Honorius had obtained a precarious establishment in Spain; except only in the province of Gallicia, where the Suevi and the Vandals had fortified their camps, in mutual discord, and hostile independence. The Vandals prevailed; and their adversaries were besieged in the Nervasian hills, between Leon and Oviedo, till the approach of Count Afterius compelled, or rather provoked, the victorious Barbarians to remove the scene of the war to the plains of Bœtica. The rapid progress of the Vandals soon required

a more effectual opposition; and the master-general Castinus marched against them with a numerous army of Romans and Goths. Vanquished in battle by an inferior enemy, Castinus fled with dishonour to Tarragona; and this memorable defeat, which has been represented as the punishment, was most probably the effect, of his rash presumption (12). Seville and Carthagena became the reward, or rather the prey, of the ferocious conquerors; and the veffels which they found in the harbour of Carthagena, might eafily transport them to the files of Majorca and Minorca, where the Spanish fugitives, as in a fecure recess, had vainly concealed their families and their fortunes. The experience of navigation, and perhaps the prospect of Africa, encouraged the Vandals to accept the invitation which they received from Count Boniface; and the death of Gonderic ferved only to forward and animate the bold enterprise. In the room of a prince, not confpicuous for any superior powers of the mind or body, they acquired his bastard brother, the terrible Genseric (13); a Genseric. name, which, in the destruction of the Roman king of the empire, has deferved an equal rank with the names of Alaric and Attila. The king of the Vandals is described to have been of a middle stature,

(12) See the Chronicles of Prosper and Idatius. Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vii. p. 246. Paris, 1608.) ascribes the victory of the Vandals to their superior piety. They fasted, they prayed, they carried a Bible in the front of the Host, with the design, perhaps, of reproaching the persidy and sacrilege of their enemies.

(13) Gizericus (his name is variously expressed) staturâ mediocris et equi casû claudicans, animo profundus, sermone rarus, luxuriæ contemptor, irâ turbidus habendi, cupidus, ad solicitandas gentes providentissimus, semina contentionum jacere, odia miscere paratus. Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 33. p. 657. This portrait, which is drawn with some skill, and a strong likeness, must have been copied from the Gothic history of Cassiodorius.

stature, with a lameness in one leg, which he had contracted by an accidental fall from his His flow and cautious speech seldom declared the deep purposes of his foul: he difdained to imitate the luxury of the vanquished; but he indulged the sterner passions of anger and revenge. The ambition of Genferic was without bounds, and without fcruple; and the warrior could dexteroufly employ the dark engines of policy to folicit the allies who might be useful to his success, or to scatter among his enemies the feeds of hatred and contention. Almost in the moment of his departure he was informed, that Hermanric, king of the Suevi, had prefumed to ravage the Spanish territories, which he was resolved to abandon. Impatient of the infult, Genferic purfued the hafty retreat of the Suevi as far as Merida; precipitated the king and his army into the river Anas, and calmly returned to the sea-shore, to embark his

He lands in victorious troops. The vessels which transported A. D. 429, the Vandals over the modern Streights of Gibraltar, a channel only twelve miles in breadth, May, were furnished by the Spaniards, who anxiously wished their departure; and by the African general, who had implored their formidable affift-

ance (14).

Our fancy, fo long accustomed to exaggerate and reviews his and multiply the martial swarms of Barbarians A D. 429 that feemed to iffue from the North, will perhaps be

> (14) See the Chronicle of Idatius. That bishop, a Spaniard and a contemporary, places the passage of the Vandals in the month of May, of the year of Abraham (which commences in October) 2444. This date, which coincides with A. D. 429, is confirmed by Indore, another Spanish bishop, and is justly preferred to the opinion of those writers, who have marked for that event, one of the two preceding years. See Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 205. &c.

be surprised by the account of the army which Genseric mustered on the coast of Mauritania. The Vandals, who in twenty years had penetrated from the Elbe to Mount Atlas, were united under the command of their warlike king; and he reigned with equal authority over the Alani, who had passed, within the term of human life, from the cold of Scythia to the exceffive heat of an African climate. The hopes of the bold enterprise had excited many brave adventurers of the Gothic nation; and many desperate provincials were tempted to repair their fortunes by the fame means which had occasioned their ruin. Yet this various multitude amounted only to fifty thousand effective men; and though Genseric artfully magnified his apparent strength, by appointing eighty chiliarchs, or commanders of thousands, the fallacious increase of old men, of children, and of flaves, would fcarcely have fwelled his army to the number of fourscore thousand persons (15). But his own dexterity, and the discontents of Africa, soon fortified the Vandal powers, by the accession of numerous and active allies. The parts of Mau-The ritania, which border on the great defert, and Moors. the Atlantic ocean, were filled with a fierce and untractable race of men, whose savage temper had been exasperated, rather than reclaimed, by their dread of the Roman arms. The wander-

⁽¹⁵⁾ Compare Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5: p. 190.) and Victor Vitensis (de Persecutione Vandal. l. i. c. 1. p. 3. edit. Ruinart). We are affured by Idatius, that Genseric evacuated Spain, cum Vandalis omnibus corumque familiis; and Possidius (in Vit. Augustin. c. 28. apud Ruinart, p. 427.) describes his army, as manus ingens immanium gentium Vandalorum et Alanorum, commixtam secum habens Gothorum gentem, aliarumque diversarum personas.

ing Moors (16), as they gradually ventured to approach the sea-shore, and the camp of the Vandals, must have viewed with terror and astonishment the dress, the armour, the martial pride and discipline of the unknown strangers, who had landed on their coast; and the fair complexions of the blue-eyed warriors of Germany, formed a very fingular contrast with the swarthy or olive hue, which is derived from the neighbourhood of the torrid zone. After the first difficulties had in some measure been removed, which arose from the mutual ignorance of their respective language, the Moors, regardless of any future consequence, embraced the alliance of the enemies of Rome; and a crowd of naked favages rushed from the woods and vallies of Mount Atlas, to fatiate their revenge on the polished tyrants, who had injuriously expelled them from the native fovereignty of the land.

The Do-

The perfecution of the Donatists (17) was an event not less favourable to the designs of Genferic. Seventeen years before he landed in Africa, a public conference was held at Carthage, by the order of the magistrate. The Catholics were fatisfied, that, after the invincible reasons which they had alleged, the obstinacy of the schismatics must be inexcusable and voluntary; and the emperor Honorius was persuaded to inslict the most rigorous penalties on a faction, which had so long abused his patience and elemency. Three hundred

(17) See Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 516—558.; and the whole series of the persecution, in the original monuments, published by Dupin at the end of Optatus, p. 323—515.

⁽¹⁶⁾ For the manners of the Moors, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. ii. c. 6. p. 249.; for their figure and complexion, M. de Buffon (Histoire Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 430.). Procopius says in general, that the Moors had joined the Vandals before the death of Valentinian (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 5. p. 190.); and it is probable, that the independent tribes did not embrace any uniform system of policy.

hundred bishops (18), with many thousands of the inferior clergy, were torn from their churches, stripped of their ecclesiastical possessions, banished to the islands, and proscribed by the laws, if they prefumed to conceal themselves in the pro-Their numerous congregativinces of Africa. ons, both in cities and in the country, were deprived of the rights of citizens, and of the exercise of religious worship. A regular scale of fines, from ten to two hundred pounds of filver, was curioufly afcertained, according to the distinctions of rank and fortune, to punish the crime of affifting at a schismatic conventicle; and if the fine had been levied five times, without subduing the obstinacy of the offender, his future punishment was referred to the discretion of the Imperial court (19). By these severities, which obtained the warmest approbation of St. Augustin (20), great numbers of Donatists were reconciled to the Catholic church: but the fanatics, who still persevered in their opposition, were provoked to madness and despair; the distracted country was filled with tumult and bloodshed; the armed troops of Circumcellions alter-

(18) The Donatist bishops, at the conference of Carthage, amounted to 279; and they afferted, that their whole number was not less than 400. The Catholics had 286 present, 120 absent, besides 64 vacant bishoprics.

(19) The fifth title of the fixteenth book of the Theodosian Code, exhibits a series of the Imperial laws against the Donatists, from the year 400 to the year 428. Of these the 54th law, promulgated by Honorius, A. D. 414, is the most severe and effectual.

(20) St. Augustin altered his opinion with regard to the proper treatment of heretics. His pathetic declaration of pity and ingulgence for the Manichæans, has been inserted by Mr. Locke (vol. iii. p. 469) among the choice specimens of his common-place book. Another philosopher, the celebrated Bayle (tom. ii. p. 445—496.), has refuted, with superfluous diligence and ingenuity, the arguments, by which the bishop of Hippo justified, in his old age, the persecution of the Donatists.

nately pointed their rage against themselves, or against their adversaries; and the calendar of martyrs received on both fides a confiderable augmentation (21). Under these circumstances, Genseric, a Christian, but an enemy of the orthodox communion, shewed himself to the Donatists as a powerful deliverer, from whom they might reasonably expect the repeal of the odious and oppressive edicts of the Roman emperors (22). The conquest of Africa was facilitated by the active zeal, or the fecret favour, of a domestic faction; the wanton outrages against the churches. and the clergy, of which the Vandals are accused, may be fairly imputed to the fanaticism of their allies; and the intolerant spirit, which difgraced the triumph of Christianity, contributed to the loss of the most important province of the West (23).

Tardy repentance of Boniface, the strange intelligence, that a virtuous hero, A.D. 430 after so many favours, and so many services, had renounced his allegiance, and invited the Barbarians to destroy the province entrusted to his command.

(21) See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 586—592. 806. The Donatists boasted of thousands of these voluntary martyrs. Augustin asserts, and probably with truth, that these numbers were much exaggerated; but he sternly maintains, that it was better that some should burn themselves in this world, than that all should burn in hell slames.

(22) According to St. Augustin and Theodoret, the Donatists were inclined to the principles, or at least to the party, of the Arians, which Genseric supported, Tillemont, Mem. Eccles.

tom. vi. p. 68.

(23) See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 428. No. 7. A. D. 439. No. 35. The cardinal, though more inclined to seek the cause of great events in heaven than on the earth, has observed the apparent connection of the Vandals and the Donatists. Under the reign of the Barbarians, the schismatics of Africa enjoyed an obscure peace of one hundred years; at the end of which, we may again trace them by the light of the Imperial persecutions. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. vi. p. 192, &c.

command. The friends of Boniface, who still believed that his criminal behaviour might be excused by some honourable motive, solicited, during the absence of Ætius, a free conference with the Count of Africa; and Darius, an officer of high diffinction, was named for the important embassy (24). In their first interview at Carthage, the imaginary provocations were mutually explained; the opposite letters of Ætius were produced and compared; and the fraud was easily detected. Placidia and Boniface lamented their fatal error; and the Count had fufficient magnanimity to confide in the forgiveness of his sovereign, or to expose his head to her future resentment. His repentance was fervent and fincere; but he foon discovered, that it was no longer in his power to restore the edifice which he had shaken to its foundations. Carthage, and the Roman garrisons, returned with their general to the allegiance of Valentinian. but the rest of Africa was still distracted with war and faction; and the inexorable king of the Vandals, disdaining all terms of accommodation, sternly refused to relinquish the possession The band of veterans, who marchof his prey. ed under the standard of Boniface, and his hasty levies of provincial troops, were defeated with confiderable olfs: the victorious Barbarians infulted the open country; and Carthage, Cirta, Vol. VI.-F and

⁽²⁴⁾ In a confidential letter to Count Boniface, Sr. Augustin, without examining the grounds of the quartel, proufly exhorts him to discharge the duties of a Christian and a subject; to extricate himself without delay from his dangerous and guilty situation; and even, if he could obtain the consent of his wife, to embrace a life of celibacy and penance (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 890.). The bishop was intimately connected with Darius, the minister of peace (Id. tom. xiii. p. 928.).

and Hippo Regius, were the only cities that appeared to rife above the general inundation.

Defolation

The long and narrow tract of the African coast of Africa. was filled with frequent monuments of Roman art and magnificence; and the respective degrees of improvement might be accurately measured by the distance from Carthage and the Mediterranean. A fimple reflection will impress every thinking mind with the clearest idea of fertility and cultivation: the country was extremely populous; the inhabitants referved a liberal subfistence for their own use; and the annual exportation, particularly of wheat, was fo regular and plentiful, that Africa deserved the name of the common granary of Rome and of mankind. On a fudden, the feven fruitful provinces, from Tangier to Tripoli, were overwhelmed by the invalion of the Vandals; whose destructive rage has perhaps been exaggerated by popular animofity, religious zeal, and extravagant declamation. War, in its fairest form, implies a perpetual violation of humanity and justice; and the hostilities of Barbarians are inflamed by the fierce and lawless spirit which incessantly disturbs their peaceful and domestic fociety. The Vandals, where they found reliftance, feldom gave quarter; and the deaths of their valiant countrymen were expiated by the ruin of the cities under whose walls they had fallen. Careless of the distinctions of age, or fex, or rank, they employed every species of indignity and torture, to force from the captives a discovery of their hidden wealth. The stern policy of Genseric justified his frequent examples of military execution: he was not always the mafter of his own passions, or of those of his followers; and the calamities of war were aggravated by the licentiousness tiousness of the Moors, and the fanaticism of the Donatists. Yet I shall not easily be persuaded, that it was the common practice of the Vandals to extirpate the olives, and other fruit-trees, of a country where they intended to settle: nor can I believe that it was a usual stratagem to slaughter great numbers of their prisoners before the walls of a belieged city, for the sole purpose of infecting the air, and producing a pestilence, of which they themselves must have been the first victims (25).

The generous mind of Count Boniface was siege of tortured by the exquifite diffress of beholding Hippo, the ruin, which he had occasioned, and whose May, rapid progress he was unable to check. After the loss of a battle, he retired into Hippo Regius; where he was immediately besieged by an enemy, who considered him as the real bulwark of Africa. The maritime colony of Hippo (26), about two hundred miles westward of Carthage, had formerly acquired the distinguishing epithet of Regius, from the residence of Numidian kings; and some remains of trade and populousness still

(25) The original complaints of the desolation of Africa are contained, 1. In a letter from Capreolus, bishop of Carthage, to excuse his absence from the council of Ephesus (ap. Ruinart, p. 429.). 2. In the life of St. Augustin, by his friend and colleague Possidius (ap. Ruinart, p. 427.). 3. In the History of the Vandalic Persecution, by Victor Vitensis (l. i. c. 1. 2, 3. edit. Ruinart). The last picture, which was drawn sixty years after the event, is more expressive of the author's passions than of the truth of facts.

(26) See Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. p. 112. Leo African. in Ramuño, tom. i. fol. 70. L'Afrique de Marmol. tom. ii. p. 434. 437. Shaw's Travels, p. 46, 47. The old Hippo Regius was finally destroyed by the Arabs in the feventh century; but a new town, at the distance of two miles, was built with the materials; and it contained, in the fixteenth century, about three hundred families of industrious, but turbulent, manufacturers. The adjacent territory is renowned for a pure air, a fertile soil, and plenty of exquisite fruits.

adhere to the modern city, which is known in Europe by the corrupted name of Bona. The military labours, and anxious reflections, of Count Boniface, were alleviated by the edifying converfation of his friend St. Augustin (27); till that bishop, the light and pillar of the Catholic church, was gently released, in the third month of the fiege, and in the feventy-fixth year of his age, from the actual and the impending calamities of Death of his country. The youth of Augustin had been st. Augul-flained by the vices and errors, which he fo in-430, Aug. genuously confesses; but from the moment of his conversion, to that of his death, the manners of the bishop of Hippo were pure and austere: and the most conspicuous of his virtues was an ardent zeal against heretics of every denomination; the Manichæans, the Donatists, and the Pelagians, against whom he waged a perpetual controversy. When the city, some months after his death, was burnt by the Vandals, the library was fortunately faved, which contained his voluminous writings; two hundred and thirty-two feparate books or treatifes on theological subjects. besides a complete exposition of the psalter and the gospel, and a copious magazine of epistles and homilies (28). According to the judgment

(27) The life of St. Augustin, by Tillemont, fills a quarto volume (Mem. Eccles. tom. xiii.) of more than one thousand pages; and the diligence of that learned Jansenist was excited, on this occasion, by factious and devout zeal for the founder of his sect.

⁽²⁸⁾ Such at least is the account of Victor Vitensis (de Persecut-Vandal, l. i. c. 3.); though Gennadius seems to doubt whether any person had read, or even collected, all the works of St. Augustin (See Hieronym. Opera, tom. i. p. 319. in Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles.). They have been repeatedly printed; and Dupin (Bibliotheque Eccles. tom. iii. p. 158—257.) has given a large and satisfactory abstract of them, as they stand in the last edition of the Benedictines. My personal acquaintance with the bishop of Hippe does not extend beyond the Consession, and the City of God.

of the most impartial critics, the superficial learning of Augustin was confined to the Latin language (29); and his style, though sometimes animated by the eloquence of passion, is usually clouded by false and affected rhetoric. But he possessed a strong, capacious, argumentative mind; he boldly sounded the dark abyss of grace, predestination, free-will, and original sin; and the rigid system of Christianity which he framed or restored (30), has been entertained, with public applause, and secret reluctance, by the Latin church (31).

By the skill of Boniface, and perhaps by the Defeat and ignorance of the Vandals, the siege of Hippo was Pretreat of Boniface, protracted above fourteen months: the sea was A. D. 431. continually open; and when the adjacent country had been exhausted by irregular rapine, the besiegers themselves were compelled by famine to relinquish their enterprise. The importance and danger of Africa were deeply felt by the re-

(29) In his early youth (Confess. i. 14.) St. Augustin disliked and neglected the study of Greek; and he frankly owns that he read the Platonists in a Latin version (Confess. vii. 9.). Some modern critics have thought, that his ignorance of Greek disqualisted him from expounding the scriptures; and Cicero or Quintilian would have required the knowledge of that language in a professor of rhetoric.

(30) These questions were seldom agitated, from the time of St. Paul to that of St. Augustin. I am informed that the Greek fathers maintain the natural sentiments of the Semi-pelagians; and that the orthodoxy of St. Augustin was derived from the Manichæan school.

(31) The church of Rome has canonifed Augustin, and reprobated Calvin. Yet as the real difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope; the Molinists are oppressed by the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to the heretic. In the mean while the Protestant Arminians stand aloof, and deride the mutual perplexity of the disputants (See a curious Review of the Controversy, by Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Universelle, tom. xiv. p. 144—398.). Perhaps a reasoner still more independent, may smile in bis turn, when he peruses an Arminian Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans.

gent of the West. Placidia implored the affiftance of her eaftern ally; and the Italian fleet and army were reinforced by Aspar, who failed from Constantinople with a powerful armament. As foon as the force of the two empires was united under the command of Boniface, he boldly marched against the Vandals; and the loss of a second battle irretrievably decided the fate of Africa. He embarked with the precipitation of despair; and the people of Hippo were permitted, with their families and effects to occupy the vacant place of the foldiers, the greatest part of whom were either flain or made prisoners by the The Count, whose fatal credulity had wounded the vitals of the republic, might enter the palace of Ravenna with some anxiety, which was foon removed by the fmies of Placidia. Boniface accepted with gratifude the rank of patrician, and the dignity of mastergeneral of the Roman armies; but he must have blushed at the fight of those medals, in which he was represented with the name and attributes of victory (32). The discovery of his traud, the displeasure of the empress, and the distinguished favour of his rival, exasperated the haughty and perfidious foul of Ætius. He haftily returned from Gaul to Italy, with a retinue, or rather with an army, of Barbarian followers; and fuch was the weakness of the government, that the two generals decided their private quarrel in a bloody battle.

⁽³²⁾ Ducange, Fam. Byzant. p. 67. On one fide, the head of Valentinian; on the reverse, Boniface, with a scourge in one hand, and a palm in the other, standing in a triumphal car, which is drawn by four horses, or, in another medal, by four stags; an unlucky emblem! I should doubt whether another example can be found of the head of a subject on the reverse of an Imperial medal. See Science des Medalles, by the Pere Jobert, tom. i. p. 332—150. edit. of 1739, by the Baron de la Bastie.

battle. Boniface was successful; but he received in the conflict a mortal wound from the spear of his adversary, of which he expired within a few His death, days, in fuch Christian and charitable sentiments, A.D. 432. that he exhorted his wife, a rich heiress of Spain, to accept Ætius for her second husband. Ætius could not derive any immediate advantage from the generofity of his dying enemy: he was proclaimed a rebel by the justice of Placidia; and though he attempted to defend fome strong fortresses erected on his patrimonial estate, the Imperial power foon compelled him to retire into Pannonia, to the tents of his faithful Huns. The republic was deprived, by their mutual difcord, of the service of her two most illustrious champions (33).

It might naturally be expected, after the re-Progress of treat of Boniface, that the Vandals would at-in Africa, chieve, without resistance or delay, the conquest A. D. 431 of Africa. Eight years however elapsed, from 439 the evacuation of Hippo to the reduction of Carthage. In the midst of that interval, the ambitious Genseric, in the full tide of apparent prosperity, negociated a treaty of peace, by which he gave his son Hunneric for an hostage; and consented to leave the Western emperor in the undisturbed possession of the three Mauritanias (34). This moderation, which cannot be imput-

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(33) Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 3. p. 185.) continues the history of Boniface no farther than his return to Italy. His death is mentioned by Prosper and Marcellinus; the expression of the latter, that Ætius, the day before, had provided himself with

a longer spear, implies something like a regular duel.

(34) See Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. 1. i. c. 4. p. 186. Valentinian published several humane laws, to relieve the distress of his Numidian and Mauritanian subjects; he discharged them, in a great measure, from the payment of their debts, reduced their tribute to one-eighth, and gave them a right of appeal from their provincial.

ed to the justice, must be ascribed to the policy, of the conqueror. His throne was encompassed with domeflic enemies; who accused the baseness of his birth, and afferted the legitimate claims of his nephews, the fons of Gonderic. Those nephews, indeed, he facrificed to his fafety; and their mother, the widow of the deceased king, was precipitated, by his order, into the river Amplaga. But the public discontent burst forth in dangerous and frequent conspiracies; and the warlike tyrant is supposed to have shed more Vandal blood by the hand of the executioner, than in the field of battle (35). The convulsions of Africa, which had favoured his attack, opposed the firm establ:shment of his power; and the various feditions of the Moors and Germans, the Donatists and Catholics, continually disturbed, or threatened, the unfettled reign of the conqueror. As he advanced towards Carthage, he was forced to withdraw his troops from the Western provinces; the fea-coast was exposed to the naval enterprifes of the Romans of Spain and Italy; and, in in the heart of Numidia, the strong inland city of Corta still persisted in obstinate independence (36). These difficulties were gradually subdued by the spirit, the perseverance, and the cruelty of Genferic; who alternately applied the arts of peace and war to the establishment of his African kingdom. He subscribed a solemn treaty, with the hope of deriving some advantage from the term of its continuance, and the moment of its violation.

provincial magistrates to the præsest of Rome. Cod. Theod. tom. vi. Novell. p. 11, 12.

⁽³⁵⁾ Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. 1. ii. c. 5. p. 26. The cruelties of Genseric towards his subjects, are strongly expressed in Prosper's Chronicle, A. D. 442.

(36) Possidius, in Vit. Augustin. c. 28. apud Ruinart. p. 428.

violation. The vigilance of his enemies was relaxed by the protestations of friendship, which concealed his hostile approach; and Carthage was at length surprised by the Vandals, five hundred and eighty-five years after the destruction of the city and republic by the younger Scipio (37).

A new city had arisen from its ruins, with the They furtitle of a colony; and though Carthage might prife Caryield to the royal prerogatives of Constantinople, A. D. 439. and perhaps to the trade of Alexandria, or the Ost. 9. splendor of Antioch, she still maintained the second rank in the West; as the Rome (if we may use the style of contemporaries) of the African That wealthy and opulent metropolis (38) displayed, in a dependent condition, the image of a flourishing republic. Carthage contained the manufactures, the arms, and the treafures of the fix provinces. A regular subordination of civil honours, gradually ascended from the procurators of the streets and quarters of the city, to the tribunal of the supreme magistrate. who, with the title of proconful, represented the flate and dignity of a conful of ancient Rome. Schools and gymnafia were instituted for the education of the African youth; and the liberal arts and manners, grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, were publicly taught in the Greek and Latin languages. The buildings of Carthage were uniform

(37) See the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, Prosper, and Marcellinus. They mark the same year, but different days, for the surprisal of Carthage.

(38) The picture of Carthage, as it flourished in the fourth and fifth centuries, is taken from the Expositio totius Mundi, p. 17, 18. in the third volume of Hudson's Minor Geographers, from Ausonius de Claris Urbibus, p. 228, 229.; and principally from Salvian, de Gubernatione Dei, i. vii. p. 257, 258. I am surp ised that the Notitia should not place either a mint, or an arsenal, at Carthage; but only a gynecæum, or female manusacture.

uniform and magnificent: a shady grove was planted in the midst of the capital; the new port. a secure and capacious harbour, was subservient to the commercial industry of citizens and strangers; and the splendid games of the Circus and theatre were exhibited almost in the presence of the Barbarians. The reputation of the Carthaginians was not equal to that of their country. and the reproach of Punic faith still adhered to their fubtle and faithless character (39). habits of trade, and the abuse of luxury, had corrupted their manners; but their impious contempt of monks, and the shameless practice of unnatural lufts, are the two abominations which excite the pious vehemence of Salvian, the preacher of the age (40). The king of the Vandals feverely reformed the vices of a voluptuous people; and the ancient, noble, ingenious, freedom, of Carthage (these expressions of Victor are not without energy), was reduced by Genferic into a state of ignominious servitude. After he had permitted his licentious troops to fatiate their rage and avarice, he instituted a more regular system of rapine and oppression. An edict was promulgated, which enjoined all per-

(39) The anonymous author of the Expositio totius Mundi, compares, in his barbarous Latin, the country and the inhabitants; and, after tigmatising their want of faith, he coolly concludes, Difficile autem inter eos invenitur bonus, tamen in multis pauci

boni esse possunt. P. 18.

⁽⁴⁰⁾ He declares, that the peculiar vices of each country were collected in the fink of Carthage (l. vii. p. 257.). In the indulgence of vice, the Africans applauded their manly virtue. Et illi se magis virilis fortitudinis esse crederent, qui maxime viros seminei usus probrositate fregissent (p. 268.). The streets of Carthage were polluted by esseminate wretches, who publicly assumed the countenance, the dress, and the character of women (p. 264.). If a monk appeared in the city, the holy man was pursued with impious scorn and ridicule; detestantibus ridentium cachinnis (p. 289.).

fons, without fraud or delay, to deliver their gold, filver, jewels, and valuable furniture or apparel, to the royal officers; and the attempt to fecret any part of their patrimony, was inexorably punished with death and torture, as an act of treason against the stare. The lands of the proconfular province, which formed the immediate district of Carthage, were accurately meafured, and divided among the Barbarians; and the conqueror referved for his peculiar domain, the fertile territory of Byzacium, and the adja-

cent parts of Numidia and Getulia (41).

It was natural enough that Genferic should African hate those whom he had injured: the nobility exiles and captives. and fenators of Carthage were exposed to his jealousy and resentment; and all those who refused the ignominious terms, which their honour and religion forbade them to accept, were compelled by the Arian tyrant to embrace the condition of perpetual banishment. Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the East, were filled with a crowd of exiles, of fugitives, and of ingenuous captives, who folicited the public compassion: and the benevolent epiftles of Theodoret, still preferve the names and misfortunes of Cælestian and Maria (42). The Syrian bishop deplores the misfortunes of Cælestian, who, from the state of a noble and opulent senator of Carthage. was reduced, with his wife and family, and fervants, to beg his bread in a foreign country; but he applauds the refignation of the Christian exile, and the philosophic temper, which, under the pressure of such calamities, could enjoy more real

(41) Compare Procopius, de Bell Vandal. I. i. c. 5. p. 189,

^{190.;} and Victor Vitensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 4.

(42) Ruinart (p. 444-457.) has collected from Theodoret, and other authors, the misfortunes, real and fabulous, of the inhabitants of Carthage,

real happiness, than was the ordinary lot of wealth and prosperity. The story of Maria, the daughter of the magnificent Eudæmon, is fingular and interesting. In the fack of Carthage, she was purchased from the Vandals by some merchants of Syria, who afterwards fold her as a flave in their native country. A female attendant, transported in the same ship, and sold in the same family, still continued to respect a mistress whom fortune had reduced to the common level of fervitude; and the daughter of Eudæmon received from her grateful affection the domestic fervices, which she had once required from her obedience. This remarkable behaviour divulged the real condition of Maria; who, in the absence of the bishop of Cyrrhus, was redeemed from slavery by the generofity of some soldiers of the garrison. The liberality of Theodoret provided for her decent maintenance; and she passed ten months among the deaconesses of the church; till she was unexpectly informed, that her father, who had escaped from the ruin of Carthage, exercised an honourable office in one of the Western pro-Her filial impatience was feconded by vinces. the pious bishop: Theodoret, in a letter still extant, recommends Maria to the bishop of Ægæ. a maritime city of Cilicia, which was frequented, during the annual fair, by the veffels of the West; most earnestly requesting, that his colleague would use the maiden with a tenderness fuitable to her birth; and that he would entrust her to the care of such faithful merchants, as would efteem it a sufficient gain, if they restored a daughter, lost beyond all human hope, to the arms of her afflicted parent.

Fable of the feven fleepers.

Among the infipid legends of ecclefiaftical history, I am tempted to diftinguish the memo-

rable

rable fable of the Seven SLEEPERS (43): whose imaginary date corresponds with the reign of the younger Theodofius, and the conquest of Africa by the Vandals (44). When the emperor Decius persecuted the Christians, seven noble youths of Ephelus concealed themselves in a spacious cavern in the fide of an adjacent mountain; where they were doomed to perish by the tyrant, who gave orders that the entrance should be firmly secured with a pile of huge stones. They immediately fell into a deep flumber, which was miraculoufly prolonged, without injuring the powers of life. during a period of one hundred and eighty-feven years. At the end of that time, the flaves of Adolius, to whom the inheritance of the mountain had descended, removed the stones, to supply materials for some ruftic edifice: the light of the fun darted into the cavern, and the feven fleepers were permitted to awake. After a flumber, as they thought of a few hours, they were pressed by the calls of hunger; and resolved that Jamblichus, one of their number, should secretly return to the city, to purchase bread for the use of his companions. The youth (if we may

(43) The choice of fabulous circumstances is of small importance; yet I have confined myself to the narrative which was translated from the Syriac by the care of Gregory of Tours (de Gloria Martyrûm, l. i. c. 95. in Max. Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xi. p. 856.), to the Greek acts of their martyrdom (apud Photium, p. 1400, 1401.), and to the Annals of the Patriarch Eutychius (tom. i. p. 391. 531, 532. 535. Vers. Pocock.).

(44) Two Syriac writers, as they are quoted by Assemanni (Bibliot, Oriental. tom. i. p. 336. 338.), place the resurrection of the Seven Sleepers in the year 736 (A. D. 425.), or 748 (A. D. 437.), of the æra of the Seleucides. Their Greek acts, which Photius had read, assign the date of the thirty eighth year of the reign of Theodosius, which may coincide either with A. D. 439, or 446. The period which had elapsed since the persecution of Decius is easily ascertained; and nothing less than the ignorance of Mahomet, or the legendaries, could suppose an interval of three or four hundred years.

ftill employ that appellation) could no longer recognife the once familiar aspect of his native country; and his furprise was increased by the appearance of a large cross, triumphantly erected over the principal gate of Ephelus. His fingular drefs, and obfolete language, confounded the baker, to whom he offered an ancient medal of Decius as the current coin of the empire; and Jamblichus, on the suspicion of a secret treasure, was dragged before the judge. Their mutual enquiries produced the amazing discovery, that two centuries were almost elapsed fince Jamblichus, and his friends, had escaped from the rage of a Pagan tyrant. The bishop of Ephesus, the clergy, the magistrates, the people, and as it is faid the emperor Theodofius himfelf, haftened to vifit the cavern of the Seven Sleepers; who beflowed their benediction, related their flory, and at the same instant peaceably expired. The origin of this marvellous fable cannot be ascribed to the pious fraud and credulity of the modern Greeks. fince the authentic tradition may be traced within half a century of the supposed miracle. James of Sarug, a Syrian bishop, who was born only two years after the death of the younger Theodofius, has devoted one of his two hundred and thirty homilies to the praise of the young men of Ephesus (45). Their legend, before the end of the fixth century, was translated from the Syriac, into the Latin, language, by the care of Gregory

⁽⁴⁵⁾ James, one of the orthodox fathers of the Syrian church, was born A. D. 452.; he began to compose his sermons A. D. 474.: he was made bishop of Batnæ, in the district of Sarug, and province of Mesopotamia, A. D. 519, and died, A. D. 521. (Assemanni, tom. i. p. 288, 289.). For the homily de Pueris Ephesinis, see p. 335—339: though I could wish that Assemanni had translated the text of James of Sarug, instead of answering the objections of Baronius.

Gregory of Tours. The hoftile communions of the East preserve their memory with equal reverence; and their names are honourably infcribed in the Roman, the Habyssinian, and the Russian calendar (46). Nor has their reputation been confined to the Christian world. This popular tale, which Mahomet might learn when he drove his camels to the fairs of Syria, is introduced, as a divine revelation, into the Koran (47). The flory of the Seven Sleepers has been adopted, and adorned by the nations, from Bengal to Africa, who profess the Mahometan religion (48); and fome veftiges of a fimilar tradition have been discovered in the remote extremities of Scandinavia (49). This easy and universal belief, so expressive of the sense of mankind, may be ascribed to the genuin merit of the fable itfelf. We imperceptibly advance from youth to age,

(46) See the Acta Sanctorum of the Bollandifts (Mensis Julii, tom. vi. p. 375-397.). This immense calendar of saints, in one hundred and twenty-fix years (1644-1770.), and in fifty volumes in folio, has advanced no farther than the 7th day of October. The suppression of the Jesuits has most probably checked an undertaking, which, through the medium of fable and superstition, communicates much historical and philosophical instruc-

(47) See Maracci Alcoran. Sura xviii. tom. ii. p. 420-427. and tom. i. part iv. p. 103. With fuch an ample privilege, Mahomet has not shewn much taste or ingenuity. He has invented the dog (Al Rakim) of the Seven Sleepers; the respect of the fun, who altered his course twice a day, that he might not shine into the cavern; and the care of God himself, who preserved their bodies from putrefaction, by turning them to the right and left.

(48) See d'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 139.; and

Renaudot, Hist. Patriarch. Alex adrin. p. 39, 40.
(49) Paul, the deacon of Aquileia (de Geitis Langobardorum, 1. i. c. 4. p. 745, 746. edit. Grot.), who lived towards the end of the eighth century, has placed in a cavern under a rock, on the shore of the ocean, the Seven Sleepers of the North, whose long repose was respected by the Barbarians. Their dress declared them to be Romans; and the deacon conjectures, that they were referved by Providence as the future apostles of those unbelieving countries.

age, without observing the gradual, but inceffant, change of human affairs; and even in our larger experience of hiftory, the imagination is accustomed, by a perpetual series of causes and effects, to unite the most distant revolutions. But if the interval between two memorable æras could be inflantly annihilated; if it were poffible, after a momentary flumber of two hundred years, to display the new world to the eyes of a spectator, who still retained a lively and recent impression of the old, his surprise and his reflections would furnish the pleasing subject of a philosophical romance. The scene could not be more advantageously placed, than in the two centuries which elapsed between the reigns of Decius and of Theodofius the Younger. During this period, the feat of government had been transported from Rome to a new city on the banks of the Thracian Bosphorus; and the abuse of military spirit had been suppressed, by an artificial system of tame and ceremonious servi-The throne of the perfecuting Decius was filled by a fuccession of Christian and orthodox princes, who had extirpated the fabulous gods of antiquity: and the public devotion of the age was impatient to exalt the faints and martyrs of the Catholic church, on the altars of Diana and The union of the Roman empire Hercules. was dissolved: its genius was humbled in the dust; and armies of unknown Barbarians, issuing from the frozen regions of the North, had established their victorious reign over the fairest provinces of Europe and Africa.

CHAP. XXXIV.

The Character, Conquests, and Court of Attild, King of the Huns.—Death of Theodosius the Younger.—Elevation of Marcian to the Empire of the East.

THE western world was oppressed by the The Huns, Goths and Vandals, who fled before the A.D. 376 Huns; but the atchievements of the Huns themfelves were not adequate to their power and profperity. Their victorious hords had foread from the Volga to the Danube; but the public force was exhausted by the discord of independent chieftains; their valour was idly confumed in obscure and predatory excursions; and they often degraded their national dignity by condescending, for the hopes of spoil, to enlist under the banners of their fugitive enemies. In the reign of ATTILA (1), the Huns again became the terror of the world; and I shall now describe the character and actions of that formidable Barbarian; who alternately infulted and invaded the Vol. VI.-F

(1) The authentic materials for the history of Attila may be found in Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 34-50. p. 660-688, edit. Grot.) and Priscus (Excerpta de Legationibus, p. 33-76. Paris, 1648.). I have not seen the lives of Attila, composed by Juvencus Cælius Calanus Dalmatinus, in the twelfth century, or by Nicolas Olabus, archbishop of Gran, in the fixtcenth. See Mascou's History of the Germans, ix. 23. and Massei Osservazioni Litterarie, tom. i. p. 88, 89. Whatever the modern Hungarians have added, must be fabulous; and they do not seem to have excelled in the art of siction. They suppose, that when Attila invaded Gaul and Italy, married innumerable wives, &c. he was one hundred and twenty years of age Thwrocz Chron. p. i. c. 22, in Script. Hungar. tom. i. p. 76.

East and the West, and urged the rapid down-

fal of the Roman empire.

Their eftablishment'in modern Hungary.

In the tide of emigration, which impetuously rolled from the confines of China to those of Germany, the most powerful and populous tribes may commonly be found on the verge of the Roman provinces. The accumulated weight was fustained for a while by artificial barriers; and the easy condescension of the emperors invited, without fatisfying, the infolent demands of the Barbarians, who had acquired an eager appetite for the luxuries of civilized life. The Hungarians, who ambitiously insert the name of Attila among their native kings, may affirm with truth, that the hords, which were subject to his uncle Roas, or Rugilas, had formed their encampments within the limits of modern Hungary (2), in a fertile country, which liberally supplied the wants of a nation of hunters and shepherds. In this advantageous fituation, Rugilas, and his valiant brothers, who continually added to their power and reputation, commanded the alternative of peace or war with the two empires. His alliance with the Romans of the West was cemented by his personal friendship for the great Ætius; who was always fecure of finding, in the Barbarian camp, a hospitable reception, and a powerful support. At his folicitation, and in the name of lohn

⁽²⁾ Hungary has been successively occupied by three Scythian colonies. 1. The Huns of Attila; 2. The Abares, in the sixth century; and, 3. The Turks or Magiars, A. D. 889.; the immediate and genuine ancestors of the modern Hungarians, whose connection with the two former is extremely faint and remote. The Prodromus and Notitia of Matthew Belius, appear to contain a rich fund of information concerning ancient and modern Hungary. I have seen the extracts in Bibliotheque Ancienne et Moderne, tom. xxii. p. 1-51. and Bibliotheque Raisonnée, tom. xxii. p. 127-175.

John the usurper, fixty thousand Huns advanced to the confines of Italy; their march and their retreat were alike expensive to the state; and the grateful policy of Ætius abandoned the poffession of Pannonia to his faithful confederates. The Romans of the East were not less apprehenfive of the arms of Rugilas, which threatened the provinces, or even the capital. Some ecclefiaftical historians have destroyed the Barbarians with lightning and pestilence (3); but Theodofius was reduced to the more humble expedient of flipulating an annual payment of three hundred and fifty pounds of gold, and of difguifing this dishonourable tribute by the title of general, which the king of the Huns condescended to accept. The public tranquillity was frequently interrupted by the fierce impatience of the Barbarians, and the perfidious intrigues of the Byzantine court. Four dependent nations, among whom we may diffinguish the Bavarians, difclaimed the fovereignty of the Huns; and their revolt was encouraged and protected by a Roman alliance; till the just claims, and formidable power, of Rugilas, were effectually urged by the voice of Eslaw his ambassador. Peace was the unanimous wish of the senate: their decree was ratified by the emperor; and two ambaffadors were named, Plinthas, a general of Scythian extraction, but of confular rank; and the quæstor Epigenes, a wise and experienced statesman, who was recommended to that office by his ambitious colleague.

D 2 The

⁽³⁾ Socrates, 1. vii. c. 43. Theodoret, 1. v. c. 36. Tillemont, who always depends on the faith of his ecclefiaftical authors, strenuously contends (Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 136. 607.), that the wars and personages were not the same,

Reign of Attila, -- 453.

The death of Rugilas suspended the progress A.D. 433 of the treaty. His two nephews, Attila and Bleda, who succeeded to the throne of their uncle, consented to a personal interview with the ambassadors of Constantinople; but as they proudly refused to dismount, the business was transacted on horseback, in a spacious plain near the city of Margus, in the Upper Mæsia. kings of the Huns affumed the folid benefits, as well as the vain honours, of the negociation. They dictated the conditions of peace, and each condition was an infult on the majesty of the empire. Besides the freedom of a safe and plentiful market on the banks of the Danube, they required that the annual contribution should be augmented from three hundred and fifty, to feven hundred pounds of gold; that a fine, or ransom, of eight pieces of gold, should be paid for every Roman captive, who had escaped from his Barbarian mafter; that the emperor should renounce all treaties and engagements with the enemies of the Huns; and that all the fugitives, who had taken refuge in the court, or provinces, of Theodofius, should be delivered to the justice of their offended fovereign. This justice was rigorously inflicted on some unfortunate They were crucified on youths of a royal race. the territories of the empire, by the command of Attila: and, as foon as the king of the Huns had impressed the Romans with the terror of his name, he indulged them in a short and arbitrary respite, whilst he subdued the rebellious or independent nations of Scythia and Germany (4).

Attila,

⁽⁴⁾ See Priscus, p. 47, 48. and Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom, vii, c. xii, xiu, xiv, xv.

Attila, the fon of Mundzuk, deduced his no-His figure ble, perhaps his regal, descent (5) from the an-and character; cient Huns, who had formerly contended with the monarchs of China. His features, according to the observation of a Gothic historian, bore the stamp of his national origin; and the portrait of Attila exhibits the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck (6); a large head, a swarthy complexion, small deep-seated eyes, a flat nose, a few hairs in the place of a beard, broad shoulders, and a short square body, of nervous strength, though of a disproportioned form. The haughty step and demeanour of the king of the Huns expressed the consciousness of his superiority above the rest of mankind; and he had a custom of fiercely rolling his eyes, as if he wished to enjoy the terror which he inspired. Yet this favage hero was not inaccessible to pity; his suppliant enemies might confide in the affurance of peace or pardon; and Attila was confidered by his subjects as a just and indulgent master. He delighted in war; but, after he had ascended the throne in a mature age, his head, rather than his hand, atchieved the conquest of the North; and the fame of an adventurous foldier, was usefully exchanged for that of a prudent and fuccessful general. The effects of personal valour are so inconfiderable, except in poetry or romance, that victory, even among Barbarians, must depend on the degree of skill, with which the pasfions

(5) Priscus, p. 39. The modern Hungarians have deduced his genealogy, which ascends, in the thirty-fifth degree, to Ham the son of Noah; yet they are ignorant of his father's real name (de Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 297.).

(6) Compare Jornandes (c. 35. p. 661.) with Buffon, Hist. Naturelle, tom. iii. p. 380. The former had a right to observe, originis sue signa restituens. The character and portrait of Attila are probably transcribed from Cassiodorius.

fions of the multitude are combined and guided for the fervice of a fingle man. The Scythian conqu rors, Attila and Zingis, furpaffed their rude countrymen in art, rather than in courage; and it may be observed, that the monarchies, both of the Huns, and of the Moguls, were erected by their founders on the basis of popular The miraculous conception, which Superstition. fraud and credulity ascribed to the virgin-mother of Zingis, raifed him above the level of human nature; and the naked prophet, who, in the name of the Deity, invested him with the empire of the earth, pointed the valour of the Moguls with irrefiftible enthusiasm (7). The religious arts of Attila were not less skilfully adapted to the character of his age and country. It was natural enough, that the Scythians should adore, with peculiar devotion, the god of war; but as they were incapable of forming either an abstract idea, or a corporeal representation, they worshipped their tutelar deity under the symbol of an iron cimeter (8). One of the shepherds of the Huns perceived, that a heifer, who was grazing, had wounded herfelf in the foot, and curioufly followed the track of the blood, till he discovered among the long grass, the point of an ancient fword; which he dug out of the ground.

he discovers the fword of Mars,

(7) Abulpharag. Dynast. vers. Pocock, p. 281. Genealogical History of the Tartars, by Abulghazi Bahader Khan, part iii. c. 15. part iv. c. 3. Vie de Gengiscan, par Petit de la Croix, l. i. c. 1. 6. The relations of the missionaries, who visited Tartary in the thirteenth century (see the seventh volume of the Histoire des Voyages), express the popular language and opinions; Zingis is styled the Son of God, &c. &c.

(8) Nec templum apud eos visitur, aut delubrum, ne tugurium quidem culmo tectum cerni usquam potest; sed gladius Barbarico ità humi figitur nudus, eumque ut Martem regionum quas circumcircant piæsulem verecundius colunt. Ammian. Marcellin, exxi, 2, and the learned Notes of Lindenbrogius and Valesius.

ground, and presented to Attila. That magnanimous, or rather that artful, prince accepted, with pious gratitude, this celestial favour; and, as the rightful possessor of the fword of Mars, afferted his divine and indefeafible claim to the dominion of the earth (9). If the rites of Scythia were practifed on this folemn occasion, a lofty altar, or rather pile of faggots, three hundred yards in length and in breadth, was raised in a spacious plain; and the sword of Mars was placed erect on the fummit of this ruftic altar. which was annually confecrated by the blood of sheep, horses, and of the hundredth captive (10). Whether human facrifices formed any part of the worship of Attila, or whether he propitiated the god of war with the victims which he continually offered in the field of battle, the favourite of Mars foon acquired a facred character, which rendered his conquefts more eafy, and more permanent; and the Barbarian princes confessed, in the language of devotion or flattery, that they could not prefume to gaze, with a steady eye, on the divine majesty of the king of the Huns (11). His brother Bleda, who reigned over a confiderable part of the nation, was compelled to refign his fceptre, and his life. Yet

⁽⁹⁾ Priscus relates this remarkable story, both in his own text (p. 65.), and in the quotation made by Jornandes (c. 35. p. 662.) He might have explained the tradition, or fable, which characterised this famous sword, and the name, as well as attributes, of the Scythian deity, whom he has translated into the Mars of the Greeks and Romans.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Herodot. 1. iv. c. 62. For the fake of economy, I have calculated by the smallest stadium. In the human facrifices, they cut off the shoulder and arm of the victim, which they threw up into the air, and drew omens and presages from the manner of their falling on the pile.

⁽¹¹⁾ Priscus, p. 55. A more civilized hero, Augustus himself, was pleased, if the person on whom he fixed his eyes seemed unable to support their divine lustre. Sucton. in August. c. 79.

even this cruel act was attributed to a supernatural impulse; and the vigour with which Attila wielded the sword of Mars, convinced the world, that it had been reserved alone for his invincible arm (12). But the extent of his empire affords the only remaining evidence of the number, and importance, of his victories; and the Scythian monarch, however ignorant of the value of science and philosophy, might, perhaps, lament, that his illiterate subjects were destitute of the art which could perpetuate the memory of his exploits.

and acquires the empire of Scythia and Geramany.

If a line of separation were drawn between the civilized and the favage climates of the globe; between the inhabitants of cities, who cultivated the earth, and the hunters and shepherds who dwelt in tents, Attila might aspire to the title of supreme and sole monarch of the Barbarians (13). He alone, among the conquerors of ancient and modern times, united the two mighty kingdoms of Germany and Scythia; and those vague appellations, when they are applied to his reign, may be understood with an ample latitude. Thuringia, which stretched beyond its actual limits, as far as the Danube, was in the number of his provinces: he interposed, with the weight of a powerful neighbour, in the domestic affairs of the Franks; and one of his lieutenants chaftifed, and almost exterminated, the Burgundians of

(12) The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. vii. p. 428, 429.) attempts to clear Attila from the murder of his brother; and is almost inclined to reject the concurrent testimony of Jornandes, and the contemporary Chronicles.

⁽¹³⁾ Fortissimarum gentium dominus, qui inaudita ante se potentia, solus Scythica et Germanica regna possedit. Jornandes, c. 49. p. 684. Pritcus, p. 64, 65. M. de Guignes, by his knowledge of the Chanese, has acquired (tom. ii. p. 295—301.) an adequate idea of the empire of Attila.

of the Rhine. He subdued the islands of the ocean, the kingdoms of Scandinavia, encompassed and divided by the waters of the Baltic; and the Huns might derive a tribute of furs from that northern region, which has been protected from all other conquerors by the feverity of the climate, and the courage of the natives. Towards the East, it is difficult to circumscribe the dominion of Attila over the Scythian deferts: yet we may be affured, that he reigned on the banks of the Volga; that the king of the Huns was dreaded, not only as a warrior, but as a magician (14); that he infulted and vanquished the Khan of the formidable Geougen; and that he fent ambassadors to negociate an equal alliance with the empire of China. In the proud review of the nations who acknowledged the fovereignty of Attila, and who never entertained, during his lifetime, the thought of a revolt, the Gepidæ and the Oftrogoths were diftinguished by their numbers, their bravery, and the perfonal merit of their chiefs. The renowned Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ, was the faithful and fagacious counsellor of the monarch; who efteemed his intrepid genius, whilft he loved the mild and discreet virtues of the noble Walamir. king of the Oftrogoths. The crowd of vulgar kings, the leaders of fo many martial tribes, who ferved under the standard of Attila, were ranged in the submissive order of guards and domestics. round the person of their master. They watched his nod; they trembled at his frown; and, at

⁽¹⁴⁾ See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 296. The Geougen believed, that the Huns could excite at pleasure, storms of wind and rain. This phænomenon was produced by the stone Gezi; to whose magic power the loss of a battle was ascribed by the Mahometan Tartars of the sourteenth century. See Chereseddin Ali, Hist. de Timur Bec, tom. i. p. 82, 83.

the first fignal of his will, they executed, without murmur or hefitation, his stern and absolute commands. In time of peace, the dependent princes, with their national troops, attended the royal camp in regular succession; but when Attila collected his military force, he was able to bring into the field an army of five, or, according to another account, of feven hundred thousand Barbarians (15).

The Huns invade Perfia, -440.

The ambaffadors of the Huns might awaken the attention of Theodofius, by reminding him, A.D. 430 that they were his neighbours both in Europe and Asia; since they touched the Danube on one hand, and reached, with the other, as far as the Tanais. In the reign of his father Arcadius, a band of adventurous Huns had ravaged the provinces of the East; from whence they brought away rich spoils and innumerable captives (16). They advanced by a fecret path, along the shores of the Caspian sea; traversed the snowy mountains

> (15) Jornandes, c. 35. p. 661. c. 37. p. 667. See Tillemont, Hift. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 129. 138. Corneille has reprefented the pride of Attila to his subject kings; and his tragedy opens with these two ridiculous lines:

> Ils ne font pas venus, nos deux rois! qu'on leur die Qu'ils se font trop attendre, et qu'Attila s'ennuie. The two kings of the Gepidæ and the Offrogoths are profound politicians and fentimental lovers; and the whole piece exhibits the

defects, without the genius, of the poet. - alii per Cafpia claustra

Armeniasque nives, inopino tramite ducti Invadent Orientis opes: jam pascua fumant Cappadocum, volucrumque parens Argæus equorum. Jam rubet altus Halys, nec se defendit iniquo Monte Cilix; Syriæ tractus valtantur amæni; Assuetumque choris et læra plebe canorum

Proterit imbellem sonipes hostilis Orontem. Clandian, in Rufin. l. ii. 28-35. See, likewise, in Entrop. 1. i. 243-251, and the strong description of Jerom, who wrote from his feelings, tom. i. p. 26. ad Heliodor. p. 200. ad Ocean, Philostorgius (l. ix. c. 8.) mentions this irrup. tion.

tains of Armenia; passed the Tigris, the Euphrates, and the Halys; recruited their weary cavalry with the generous breed of Capadocian horses; occupied the hilly country of Cilicia, and diffurbed the festal songs, and dances, of the citizens of Antioch. Egypt trembled at their approach; and the monks and pilgrims of the Holy Land prepared to escape their fury by a speedy embarkation. The memory of this invafion was still recent in the mind of the Orien-The subjects of Attila might execute, with fuperior forces, the defign which these adventurers had fo boldly attempted; and it foon became the subject of anxious conjecture, whether the tempest would fall on the dominions of Rome, or of Persia. Some of the great vassals of the king of the Huns, who were themselves in the rank of powerful princes, had been fent to ratify an alliance and fociety of arms with the emperor, or rather with the general, of the West. They related, during their residence at Rome, the circumstances of an expedition, which they had lately made into the East. After passing a desert and a morals, supposed by the Romans to be the lake Mootis, they penetrated through the mountains, and arrived, at the end of fifteen days march, on the confines of Media; where they advanced as far as the unknown cities of Basic and Cursic. They encountered the Persian army in the plains of Media; and the air, according to their own expression, was darkened by a cloud of arrows. But the Huns were obliged to retire, before the numbers of the ene-Their laborious retreat was effected by a different road; they loft the greatest part of their booty; and at length returned to the royal camp, with some knowledge of the country, and an impatient impatient defire of revenge. In the free converfation of the Imperial ambaffadors, who discussed, at the court of Attila, the character and defigns of their formidable enemy, the ministers of Constantinople expressed their hope, that his strength might be diverted and employed in a long and doubtful contest, with the princes of the house of Sassan. The more fagacious Italians admonished their Eastern brethren of the folly and danger of fuch a hope; and convinced them that the Medes and Perfians were incapable of relifting the arms of the Huns; and, that the easy and important acquisition would exalt the pride, as well as power, of the conqueror. Instead of contenting himself with a moderate contribution, and a military title, which equalled him only to the generals of Theodofius, Attila would proceed to impose a disgraceful and intolerable yoke on the necks of the prostrate and captive Romans, who would then be encompafied, on all fides, by the empire of the Huns (17).

They attack the Eastern empire, A. D. 441, STC.

While the powers of Europe and Asia were folicitous to avert the impending danger, the alliance of Attila maintained the Vandals in the possession of Africa. An enterprise had been concerted between the courts of Ravenna and Constantinople, for the recovery of that valuable province; and the ports of Sicily were already filled with the military and naval forces of Theodofius. But the subtle Genseric, who spread his negociations round the world, prevented their deligns, by exciting the king of the Huns to invade the Eastern empire; and a trifling incident foon became the motive, or pretence, of a de-

⁽¹⁷⁾ See the original conversation in Prisons, p. 64, 65.

structive war (18). Under the faith of the treaty of Margus, a free market was held on the northern fide of the Danube, which was protected by a Roman fortress, surnamed Constantia. A troop of Barbarians violated the commercial fecurity: killed, or difperfed, the unfuspecting traders; and levelled the fortress with the ground. The Huns justified this outrage as an act of reprifal; alledged, that the bishop of Margus had entered their territories, to discover and steal a secret treasure of their kings; and fternly demanded the guilty prelate, the facrilegious spoil, and the fugitive subjects, who had escaped from the justice of Attila. The refusal of the Byzantine court was the fignal of war; and the Mæsians at first applauded the generous firmness of their sovereign. But they were soon intimidated by the destruction of Viminiacum and the adjacent towns; and the people was perfuaded to adopt the convenient maxim, that a private citizen, however innocent or respectable, may be justly facrificed to the fafety of his country. The bithop of Margus, who did not possess the spirit of a martyr, resolved to prevent the defigns which he suspected. He boldly treated with the princes of the Huns; fecured, by folemn oaths, his pardon and reward; pofted a numerous detachment of Barbarians, in filent ambush,

⁽¹⁸⁾ Priscus, p. 331. His history contained a copious and elegant account of the war (Evagrius, I. i. c. 17.); but the extracts which relate to the embessies are the only parts that have reached our times. The original work was accessible, however, to the writers, from whom we borrow our imperfect knowledge, Jornandes, Theophanes, Count Marcellinus, Prosper-Tyro, and the author of the Alexandrian, or Paschal, Chronicle. M. de Buat (Hist, des Peuples de TEurope, tom. vii. c. xv.) has examined the cause, the circumstances, and the duration, of this war: and will not allow it to extend beyond the year four hundred and forty-four.

Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans (21).

The Scythian, or Tartar, wars.

In all their invalions of the civilized empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a favage and deftructive spi-The laws of war, that restrain the exercife of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, left the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental history may reflect fome light on the Thort and imperfect annals of Rome. Moguls had fubdued the northern provinces of China, it was feriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin (22), who infinuated

(21) Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 106, 107.) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake; which was felt as far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the ecclesiastical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

⁽²²⁾ He represented, to the imperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petcheli, Chantong, Chansi, and Levotong) which he already possessed, might annually produce, under a mild administration, 500,000 ounces of silver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk. Gaubil. Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongous, p. 58, 59. Yelutchousay (such was the name of the mandarin) was a wite and virtuous minister, who saved his country, and civilized the conquerors. See p. 102, 103.

some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid delign. But in the cities of Afia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised, with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in fome plain adjacent to the city; where a divifrom was made of the vanquished into three parts, The first class consisted of the soldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided: they were either inlifted among the Moguls, or they were maffacred on the fpot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The fecond class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ranfom might be expected, was diffributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the mean while, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence of breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not confeious of any extraordinary rigour (23). But Vol. VI.-F

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⁽²³⁾ Particular instances would be endless; but the curious reader may consult the site of Genguscan, by Petit de la Croix, the Histoire des Mongous, and the fifteenth book of the History of the Huns.

ambush, on the banks of the Danube; and, at the appointed hour, opened, with his own hand, the gates of his episcopal city. This advantage, which had been obtained by treachery, ferved as a prelude to more honourable and decifive victories. The Illyrian frontier was covered by a line of castles and fortresses; and though the greatest part of them confifted only of a fingle tower, with a small garrison, they were commonly sufficient to repel, or to intercept, the inroads of an enemy, who was ignorant of the art, and impatient of the delay, of a regular fiege. But thefe flight obstacles were instantly swept away by the inundation of the Huns (19). They destroyed, with fire and fword, the populous cities of Sirmium and Singidunum, of Ratiaria and Marcianapolis, of Naissus and Sardica; where every circumstance, in the discipline of the people, and the construction of the buildings, had been gradually adapted to the fole purpose of defence. and ravage The whole breadth of Europe, as it extends

Europe, as above five hundred miles from the Euxine to the stantinople. Hadriatic, was at once invaded, and occupied, and desolated, by the myriads of Barbarians whom Attila led into the field. The public danger and distress could not, however, provoke Theodosius to interrupt his amusements and devotion, or to appear in person at the head of the Roman legions. But the troops, which had been sent against Genseric, were hastily recalled from Sicily; the garrisons, on the side of Persia, were exhausted; and a military force was collected in Europe, formidable by their arms and numbers,

⁽¹⁹⁾ Procopius, de Edificiis, I. iv. c. 5. These fortresses were afterwards restored, strengthened, and enlarged by the emperor Justinian; but they were soon destroyed by the Abares, who succeeded to the power and possessions of the Huns.

if the generals had understood the science of command, and their foldiers the duty of obedience. The armies of the Eastern empire were vanquished in three successive engagements; and the progress of Attila may be traced by the fields of battle. The two former, on the banks of the Utus, and under the walls of Marcianapolis, were fought in the extensive plains between the Danube and Mount Hæmus. As the Romans were pressed by a victorious enemy, they gradually, and unskilfully, retired towards the Cherfonefus of Thrace; and that narrow peninfula, the last extremity of the land, was marked by their third, and irreparable, defeat. destruction of this army, Attila acquired the indifputable poffession of the field. From the Hellespont to Thermopylæ, and the suburbs of Conftantinople, he ravaged, without refistance, and without mercy, the provinces of Thrace and Macedonia. Heraclea and Hadrianople might, perhaps, escape this dreadful irruption of the Huns; but the words, the most expressive of total extirpation and erasure, are applied to the calamities which they inflicted on feventy cities of the Eastern empire (20). Theodosius, his court, and the unwarlike people, were protected by the walls of Constantinople; but those walls had been shaken by a recent earthquake, and the fall of fifty-eight towers had opened a large and tremendous breach. The damage indeed was speedily repaired; but this accident was aggravated by a superstitious fear, that Heaven itself had delivered the Imperial city to the shepherds of Scythia.

⁽²⁰⁾ Septuaginta civitates (says Prosper-Tyro) deprædatione vastatæ. The language of count Marcellinus is still more forcible. Pene totam Europam, invasis excissque civitatibus atque castellis, conrast.

Scythia, who were strangers to the laws, the language, and the religion, of the Romans (21).

The Scythian, or Tartar, wars,

In all their invalions of the civilized empires of the South, the Scythian shepherds have been uniformly actuated by a favage and deftructive spirit. The laws of war, that restrain the exercife of national rapine and murder, are founded on two principles of substantial interest: the knowledge of the permanent benefits which may be obtained by a moderate use of conquest; and a just apprehension, lest the desolation which we inflict on the enemy's country, may be retaliated on our own. But these considerations of hope and fear are almost unknown in the pastoral state of nations. The Huns of Attila may, without injustice, be compared to the Moguls and Tartars, before their primitive manners were changed by religion and luxury; and the evidence of Oriental history may reflect fome light on the Thort and imperfect annals of Rome. After the Moguls had fubdued the northern provinces of China, it was feriously proposed, not in the hour of victory and passion, but in calm deliberate council, to exterminate all the inhabitants of that populous country, that the vacant land might be converted to the pasture of cattle. The firmness of a Chinese mandarin (22), who infinuated fome

(21) Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 106, 107.) has paid great attention to this memorable earthquake; which was felt as far from Constantinople as Antioch and Alexandria, and is celebrated by all the ecclesiastical writers. In the hands of a popular preacher, an earthquake is an engine of admirable effect.

⁽²²⁾ He represented, to the imperor of the Moguls, that the four provinces (Petcheli, Chantong, Chansi, and Leaotong) which he already possessed, might annually produce, under a mild administration, 500,000 ounces of silver, 400,000 measures of rice, and 800,000 pieces of silk. Gaubil. Hist. de la Dynastie des Mongous, p. 58, 59. Yelutchousay (such was the name of the mandarin) was with and virtuous minister, who saved his country, and civilized the conquerors. See p. 102, 103.

some principles of rational policy into the mind of Zingis, diverted him from the execution of this horrid delign. But in the cities of Afia, which yielded to the Moguls, the inhuman abuse of the rights of war was exercised, with a regular form of discipline, which may, with equal reason, though not with equal authority, be imputed to the victorious Huns. The inhabitants, who had submitted to their discretion, were ordered to evacuate their houses, and to assemble in some plain adjacent to the city; where a divifrom was made of the vanguished into three parts, The first class consisted of the foldiers of the garrison, and of the young men capable of bearing arms; and their fate was instantly decided; they were either inlifted among the Moguls, or they were maffacred on the fpot by the troops, who, with pointed spears and bended bows, had formed a circle round the captive multitude. The fecond class, composed of the young and beautiful women, of the artificers of every rank and profession, and of the more wealthy or honourable citizens, from whom a private ranfom might be expected, was distributed in equal or proportionable lots. The remainder, whose life or death was alike useless to the conquerors, were permitted to return to the city; which, in the mean while, had been stripped of its valuable furniture; and a tax was imposed on those wretched inhabitants for the indulgence breathing their native air. Such was the behaviour of the Moguls, when they were not confeious of any extraordinary rigour (23). But Vol. VI.-F

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⁽²³⁾ Particular instances would be endless; but the curious reader may commit the rife of Genguscan, by Petit de la Croix, the Histoire des Mongous, and the fifteenth book of the History of the Huns.

the most casual provocation, the slightest motive. of caprice or convenience, often provoked them to involve a whole people in an indifcriminate massacre: and the ruin of some sourishing cities was executed with fuch unrelenting perfeverance, that, according to their own expression, horses might run, without stumbling, over the ground where they had once flood. The three great capitals of Khorasan, Maru, Neisabour, and Herat, were destroyed by the armies of Zingis; and the exact account, which was taken of the flain, amounted to four millions three hundred and forty-seven thousand persons (24). Timur, or Tamerlane, was educated in a less barbarous age; and in the profession of the Mahometan religion: yet, if Attila equalled the hoftile ravages of Tamerlane (25), either the Tartar or the Hun might deserve the epithet of the Scourge of God (26).

State of the captives.

It may be affirmed, with bolder affurance, that the Huns depopulated the provinces of the empire, by the number of Roman subjects whom they led away into captivity. In the hands of a

(24) At Maru, 1,300,000; at Herat, 1,600,000; at Neisahour, 1,747,000. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, p. 380, 381. I use the orthography of d'Anville's maps. It must however be allowed, that the Perfians were disposed to exaggerate their losses, and the Moguls, to magnify their exploits.

(25) Cherefeddin Ali, his servile panegyrift, would afford us many horrid examples. In his camp before Delhi, Timur massacred 100,000 Indian prisoners who had smiled when the army of their countrymen appeared in fight (Hift. de Timur Bec, tom. iii. p. 90.). The people of Ispahan supplied 70,000 human skulls for the structure of several lofty towers (Id. tom. i. p. 434.). A fimilar tax was levied on the revolt of Bagdad (tom. in. p. 370.); and the exact account, which Cherefeddin was not able to procure from the proper officers, is stated by another historian (Ahmed Arabhada, tom. ii. p. 175. vers. Manger) at 90,000 heads.

(26) The ancients, Jornandes, Priscus, &c. are ignorant of this epithet. The modern Hungarians have imagined, that it was applied, by a hermit of Gaul. to Attila, who was pleafed to infert it among the titles of his royal dignity. Mascou, ix. 23. and

Tillemont, Hift. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 143.

wife legislator, such an industrious colony might have contributed to diffuse, through the deferts of Scythia, the rudiments of the useful and ornamental arts; but these captives, who had been taken in war, were accidentally dispersed among the hords, that obeyed the empire of Attila. The estimate of their respective value was formed by the simple judgment of unenlightened, and unprejudiced, Barbarians. Perhaps they might not understand the merit of a theologian, profoundly skilled in the controverfies of the Trinity and the Incarnation: yet they respected the ministers of every religion; and the active zeal of the Christian missionaries, without approaching the person, or the palace, of the monarch, fuccessfully laboured in the propagation of the gospel (27). The pastoral tribes, who were ignorant of the distinction of landed property, must have difregarded the use, as well as the abuse, of civil jurisprudence; and the skill of an eloquent lawyer could excite only their contempt, or their abhorrence (28). The perpetual intercourse of the Huns and the Goths had communicated the familiar knowledge of the two national dialects; and the Barbarians were ambitious of conversing in Latin, the military

(27) The missionaries of St. Chrysostom had converted great numbers of the Scythians, who dwelt, beyond the Danube, in tents and waggons. Theodoret, l. v. c. 31. Photius, p. 1517. The Mahometans, the Nestorians, and the Latin Christians, thought themselves secure of gaining the sons and grandsons of Zingis, who treated the rival missionaries with impartial favour.

(28) The Germans, who exterminated Varus and his legions, had been particularly offended with the Roman laws and lawyers. One of the Barbarians, after the effectual precautions of cutting out the tongue of an advocate, and fewing up his mouth, observed, with much satisfaction, that the viper could no longer his. Florus, iv. 12.

idiom, even of the Eastern empire (29). But they disdained the language, and the sciences, of the Greeks; and the vain fophist, or grave philofopher, who had enjoyed the flattering applause of the schools, was mortified to find, that his robust servant was a captive of more value and importance than himself. The mechanic arts were encouraged and effeemed, as they tended to fatisfy the wants of the Huns. An architect, in the fervice of Onegefius, one of the favourites of Attila, was employed to construct a bath; but this work was a rare example of private luxury; and the trades of the fmith, the carpenter, the armourer, were much more adapted to supply a wandering people with the useful instruments of peace and war. But the merit of the physician was received with universal favour and respect; the Barbarians, who despised death, might be apprehensive of disease; and the haughty conqueror trembled in the presence of a captive, to whom he ascribed, perhaps, an imaginary power, of prolonging, or preferving, his life (30). The Huns might be provoked to infult the mifery of their flaves, over whom they exercised a despotic command (31); but their manners were not fusceptible of a refined system

(29) Priscus, p. 59. It should seem, that the Huns preferred the Gothic and Latin languages to their own; which was probably a harsh and barren idiom.

(30) Philip de Comines, in his admirable picture of the last moments of Lewis XI. (Memoires, l. vi. c. 12.) represents the infolence of his physician, who, in five months, extorted 54,000 crowns, and a rich bishopric, from the stern avaricious tyrant.

⁽³¹⁾ Priscus (p. 61.) extols the equity of the Roman laws, which protected the life of a flave. Occidere solent (says Tacitus of the Germans) non disciplina et severitate, sed impetu et ira, ut inimicum, niti quod impune. De Moribus Germ. c. 25. The Heruti, who were the subjects of Attila, claimed, and exercised, the power of life and death over their slaves. See a remarkable instance in the second book of Agathias.

of oppression; and the efforts of courage and diligence were often recompensed by the gift of The historian Priscus, whose embasly freedom. is a fource of curious instruction, was accosted, in the camp of Attila, by a stranger, who saluted him in the Greek language, but whose dress and figure displayed the appearance of a wealthy Scythian. In the fiege of Viminiacum, he had loft, according to his own account, his fortune and liberty: he became the flave of Onegefins; but his faithful fervices, against the Romans and the Acatzires, had gradually raifed him to the rank of the native Huns; to whom he was attached by the domestic pledges of a new wife and feveral children. The spoils of war had reflored and improved his private property; he was admitted to the table of his former lord; and the apostate Greek blessed the hour of his captivity, fince it had been the introduction to an happy and independent state; which he held by the honourable tenure of military fervice. This reflection naturally produced a dispute on the advantages, and defects, of the Roman government, which was feverely arraigned by the apostate, and defended by Priscus in a prolix and feeble declamation. The freedman of Onegehus exposed, in true and lively colours, the vices of a declining empire, of which he had fo long been the victim; the cruel abfurdity of the Roman princes, unable to protect their subjects against the public enemy, unwilling to trust them with arms for their own defence; the intolerable weight of taxes, rendered still more oppressive by the intricate or arbitrary modes of collection; the obscurity of numerous and contradictory laws; the tedious and expensive forms of judicial proceedings; the partial administration

tion of justice; and the universal corruption, which increased the influence of the rich, and aggravated the misfortunes of the poor. A fentiment of patriotic sympathy was at length revived in the breaft of the fortunate exile; and he lamented, with a flood of tears, the guilt or weakness of those magistrates, who had perverted the wifest and most salutary institution (32). The timid, or felfish, policy of the western

Treaty of peace hetween empire,

Romans had abandoned the Eastern empire to Attila and the Huns (23). The loss of armies, and the the Eastern want of discipline, or virtue, were not supplied A.D. 446. by the personal character of the monarch. Theodofins might still affect the style, as well as the title, of Invincible Augustus; but he was reduced to folicit the elemency of Attila, who imperioufly dictated these harsh and humiliating conditions of peace. I. The emperor of the East refigned, by an express or tacit convention, an extensive and important territory, which stretched along the fouthern banks of the Danube, from Singidunum or Belgrade, as far as Novæ, in the diocese of Thrace. The breadth was defined by the vague computation of fifteen days journey; but, from the proposal of Attila, to remove the fituation of the national market, it foon appeared, that he comprehended the ruined city of Naissus within the limits of his dominions. Il. The king of the Huns required, and obtained, that his tribute or fubfidy should be augmented from feven hundred pounds of gold to the annual fum of two thousand one hundred; and he stipulated the immediate payment of fix thousand pounds

⁽³²⁾ See the whole conversation in Priscus, p. 59-62.

⁽³³⁾ Nova iterum Orienti affurgit ruina quum nulla ab Occidentalibus ferientur auxilia. Prosper Tyro composed his Chronicle in the West; and his observation implies a censure.

of gold to defray the expences, or to expiate the guilt, of the war. One might imagine, that fuch a demand, which scarcely equalled the meafure of private wealth, would have been readily discharged by the opulent empire of the East; and the public diffress affords a remarkable proof of the impoverished, or at least of the disorderly, state of the finances. A large proportion of the taxes, extorted from the people, was detained and intercepted in their passage, through the foulest channels, to the treasury of Constantinople. The revenue was diffipated by Theodofius, and his favourites, in wasteful and profuse luxury; which was difguifed by the names of Imperial magnificence, or Christian charity. The immediate supplies had been exhausted by the unforeseen necessity of military preparations. A personal contribution, rigorously, but capriciously, imposed on the members of the fenatorian order, was the only expedient that could difarm, without loss of time, the impatient avarice of Attila: and the poverty of the nobles compelled them to adopt the scandalous resource of exposing to public auction the jewels of their wives, and the hereditary ornaments of their palaces (34). III. The king of the Huns appears to have established, as a principle of national jurisprudence, that he could never lose the property, which he had once acquired, in the persons, who had yielded either a voluntary, or reluctant, submission to his authority. From this principle he concluded, and the conclusions of Attila were irrevocable laws, that

⁽³⁴⁾ According to the description, or rather invective, of Chryfostom, an auction of Byzantine luxury must have been very productive. Every wealthy house possessed a semi-circular table of massy silver, such as two men could scarcely list, a vase of solid gold of the weight of forty pounds, cups, dishes of the same metal, &c.

the Huns, who had been taken prisoners in war, should be released without delay, and without ranfom; that every Roman captive, who had prefumed to escape, should purchase his right to freedom at the price of twelve pieces of gold; and that all the Parbarians, who had deferted the standard of Attila, should be restored, without any promise, or stipulation, of pardon. In the execution of this cruel and ignominious treaty, the Imperial officers were forced to maffacre feveral loyal and noble deferters, who refused to devote themselves to certain death; and the Romans forfeited all reasonable claims to the friendthip of any Scythian people, by this public confession, that they were destitute either of faith, or power, to protect the suppliants, who had embraced the throne of Theodofius (35).

Spirit of the Azi-

The firmness of a fingle town, so obscure, that, except on this occasion, it has never been mentioned by any historian or geographer, exposed the distrace of the emperor and empire. Azimus, or Azimustium, a small city of Thrace on the Illyrian borders (36), had been distinguished by the martial spirit of its youth, the skill and reputation of the leaders whom they had chosen, and

⁽³⁵⁾ The articles of the treaty, expressed without much order or precision, may be found in Priscus (p. 34, 35, 36, 37. 53, &c.). Count Marcellinus dispenses some comfort, by observing, 1st. That Attila himself solicited the peace and presents, which he had formerly refused; and 2dly, That, about the same time, ambassadors of India presented a fine large tame tyger to the emperor Theodosius.

⁽³⁶⁾ Priscus, p. 35, 36. Among the hundred and eighty-two forts, or castles, of Thrace, enumerated by Procopius (de Edificiis, I. iv. c. xi. tom ii. p. 62. edit. Paris), there is one of the name of Estmontou, whose position is doubtfully marked, in the neighbourhood of Anchialus, and the Euxine Sea. The name and walls of Azimuntium might subsist till the reign of Justinian; but the race of its brave defenders had been carefully extirpated by the jealousy of the Roman princes,

and their daring exploits against the innumerable hoft of the Barbarians. Inflead of tamely expecting their approach, the Azimuntines attacked, in frequent and fuccessful fallies, the troops of the Huns, who gradually declined the dangerous neighbourhood; refcued from their hands the spoil and the captives, and recruited their domestic force by the voluntary affociation of fugitives and deferters. After the conclusion of the treaty, Attila full menaced the empire with implacable war, unless the Azimuntines were perfunded, or compelled, to comply with the conditions which their fovereign had accepted. The ministers of Theodosius confessed with shame, and with truth, that they no longer possessed any authority over a fociety of men, who so bravely afferted their natural independence; and the king of the Huns condescended to negociate an equal exchange with the citizens of Azimus. They demanded the restitution of some shepherds, who, with their cattle, had been accidentally furprised. A strict, though fruitless, inquiry was allowed: but the Huns were obliged to swear, that they did not detain any prisoners belonging to the city, before they could recover two furviving countrymen, whom the Azimuntines had referved as pledges for the fafety of their loft companions. Attila, on his fide, was fatisfied, and deceived, by their folemn affeveration, that the rest of the captives had been put to the fword; and that it was their constant practice, immediately to difmiss the Romans and the deserters, who had obtained the fecurity of the public faith. This prudent and officious diffimulation may be condemned, or excused, by the casuifts, as they incline to the rigid decree of St. Augustin, or to the milder fentiment of St. Jerom and St. Chryfostom:

fostom: but every foldier, every statesman, must acknowledge, that, if the race of the Azimuntines had been encouraged and multiplied, the Barbarians would have ceased to trample on the

majesty of the empire (37).

Embaffies to Constantinople.

It would have been strange, indeed, if Theofrom Attila dofius had purchased, by the loss of honour, a fecure and folid tranquillity; or if his tameness had not invited the repetition of injuries. The Byzantine court was infulted by five or fix fuccesfive embassies (38); and the ministers of Attila were uniformly instructed to press the tardy or imperfect execution of the last treaty; to produce the names of fugitives and deferters, who were full protected by the empire; and to declare, with feeming moderation, that unless their fovereign obtained complete and immediate fatiffaction, it would be impossible for him, were it even his wish, to check the resentment of his Besides the motives of pride and warlike tribes. interest which might prompt the king of the Huns to continue this train of negociation, he was influenced by the less honourable view of enriching his favourites at the expence of his enemies. The Imperial reasury was exhausted, to procure the friendly offices of the ambaffadors, and their principal attendants, whose favourable report might conduce to the maintenance of

> (37) The peevish dispute of St. Jerom and St. Augustin, who laboured, by different expedients, to reconcile the feeming quarrel of the two apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, depends on the solution of an important question (Middleton's Works, vol. ii. p. 5-10.), which has been frequently agitated by Catholic and Protestant divines, and even by lawyers and philosophers of every age.

> (38) Montesquieu (Considerations sur la Grandeur, &c. c. xix.) has delineated, with a bold and easy pencil, some of the most striking circumstances of the pride of Attila, and the disgrace of the Romans. He deferves the praise of having read the Fragments of

Priscus, which have been too much difregarded.

The Barbarian monarch was flattered by the liberal reception of his ministers; he computed with pleasure the value and splendour of their gifts, rigoroufly exacted the performance of every promife, which would contribute to their private emolument, and treated as an important business of state, the marriage of his secretary Constantius (30). That Gallic adventurer, who was recommended by Ætius to the king of the Huns, had engaged his fervice to the ministers of Constantinople, for the stipulated reward of a wealthy and noble wife; and the daughter of count Saturninus was chosen to discharge the obligations of her country. The reluctance of the victim. fome domestic troubles, and the unjust confiscation of her fortune, cooled the ardour of her interefted lover; but he still demanded, in the name of Attila, an equivalent alliance; and, after many ambiguous delays and excuses, the Byzantine court was compelled to facrifice to this infolent stranger the widow of Armatius, whose birth, opulence, and beauty, placed her in the most illustrious rank of the Roman matrons. For these importunate and oppressive embassies, Attila claimed a fuitable return: he weighed, with fuspicious pride, the character and station of the Imperial envoys; but he condescended to promise, that he would advance as far as Sardica, to receive any ministers who had been invested with the confular dignity. The council of Theodofius eluded this proposal, by representing the desolate and ruined

⁽³⁹⁾ See Priscus, p. 69. 71, 72, &c. I would fain believe, that this adventurer was afterwards crucified by the order of Attila, on a suspicion of treasonable practices: but Priscus (p. 57.) has too plainly distinguished true persons of the name of Constantius, who, from the similar events of their lives, might have been easily consounded.

ruined condition of Sardica; and even ventured to infinuate, that every officer of the army or household was qualified to treat with the most powerful princes of Scythia. Maximin (40), a respectable courtier, whose abilities had been long exercifed in civil and military employments, accepted with reluctance the troublesome, and, perhaps, dangerous commission, of reconciling the angry spirit of the king of the Huns. His friend, the historian Priscus (41), embraced the opportunity of observing the Barbarian hero in the peaceful and domestic scenes of life: but the fecret of the embaffy, a fatal and guilty fecret. was entrusted only to the interpreter Vigilius. The two last ambassadors of the Huns, Orestes, a noble subject of the Pannonian province, and Edecon, a valiant chieftain of the tribe of the Scyrri, returned at the same time from Constantinople to the royal camp Their obscure names were afterwards illustrated by the extraordinary fortune and the contrast of their fons: the two fervants of Attila became the fathers of the last Roman emperor of the West, and of the first Barbarian king of Italy.

The

(40) In the Persian treaty concluded in the year 422, the wise and eloquent Maximin had been the assessor of Ardaburius (Socrates, I. vii. c. 20.). When Marcian ascended the throne, the office of Great Chamberlain was bestowed on Maximin, who is ranked, in a public edict, among the four principal ministers of state (Novell, ad Calc. Cod. Theod. p. 31.). He executed a civil and military commission in the Eastern provinces; and his death was lamented by the savages of Æthiopia, whose incursions he had repressed. See Priscus, p. 40, 41.

(41) Priscus was a native of Panium in Thrace, and deserved, by his eloquence, an honourable place among the sophists of the age. His Byzantine history, which related to his own times, was comprised in seven books. See Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. vi. p. 235, 236. Notwithstanding the charitable judgment of the

critics, I suspect that Priscus was a Pagan.

The ambaffadors, who were followed by a nu-The emmerous train of men and horses, made their first bassy of Maximin halt at Sardica, at the distance of three hundred to Atula. and fifty miles, or thirteen days journey, from A. D. 448. Constantinople. As the remains of Sardica were ftill included within the limits of the empire, it was incumbent on the Romans to exercise the duties of hospitality. They provided, with the asfiftance of the provincials, a fufficient number of sheep and oxen; and invited the Huns to a splendid, or at least a plentiful, supper. But the harmony of the entertainment was foon diffurbed by mutual prejudice and indifcretion. The greatness of the emperor and the empire was warmly maintained by their ministers; the Huns, with equal ardour, afferted the superiority of their victorious monarch: the dispute was inflamed by the rash and unfeafonable flattery of Vigilius, who paffionately rejected the comparison of a mere mortal with the divine Theodofius; and it was with extreme difficulty that Maximin and Priscus were able to divert the conversation, or to soothe the angry minds of the Barbarians. When they role from table, the Imperial ambaffador prefented Edecon and Orestes with rich gifts of filk robes and Indian pearls, which they thankfully accepted. Yet Orestes could not forbear infinuating, that be had not always been treated with fuch respect and liberality: and the offensive distinction, which was implied, between his civil office and the hereditary rank of his colleague, feems to have made Edecon a doubtful friend, and Orestes an irreconcilable enemy. After this entertainment, they travelled about one hundred miles from Sardica to Naissus. That flourishing city, which had given birth to the great Constantine, was levelled with the ground: the inhabitants were

were destroyed, or dispersed; and the appearance of some sick persons, who were still permitted to exist among the ruins of the churches, served only to increase the horror of the prospect. The furface of the country was covered with the bones of the flain; and the ambaffadors, who directed their course to the north-west, were obliged to pass the hills of modern Servia, before they descended into the flat and marshy grounds, which are terminated by the Danube. The Huns were mafters of the great river: their navigation was performed in large canoes, hollowed out of the trunk of a fingle tree; the ministers of Theodofius were fafely landed on the opposite bank; and their Barbarian affociates immediately haftened to the camp of Attila, which was equally prepared for the amusements of hunting, or of war. No fooner had Maximin advanced about two miles from the Danube, than he began to experience the fastidious insolence of the conqueror. He was sternly forbid to pitch his tents in a pleasant valley, left he should infringe the distant awe that The ministers of was due to the royal mansion. Attila pressed him to communicate the business, and the instructions, which he reserved for the ear of their fovereign. When Maximin temperately urged the contrary practice of nations, he was still more confounded to find, that the refolutions of the Sacred Confiftory, those secrets (fays Priscus) which should not be revealed to the gods themselves, had been treacherously difclosed to the public enemy. On his refusal to comply with fuch ignominious terms, the Imperial envoy was commanded inflantly to depart: the order was recalled; it was again repeated; and the Huns renewed their ineffectual attempts to fubdue the patient firmness of Maximin. At length,

length, by the intercession of Scotta, the brother of Onegefius, whose friendship had been purchased by a liberal gift, he was admitted to the royal presence; but, instead of obtaining a decifive answer, he was compelled to undertake a remote journey towards the North, that Attila might enjoy the proud fatisfaction of receiving, in the same camp, the ambassadors of the Eastern and Western empires. His journey was regulated by the guides, who obliged him to halt, to haften his march, or to deviate from the common road, as it best suited the convenience of the king. The Romans who traverfed the plains of Hungary, suppose that they passed several navigable rivers, either in canoes or portable boats: but there is reason to suspect, that the winding stream of the Teyls, or Tibiscus, might present itself in different places, under different names. From the contiguous villages they received a plentiful and regular supply of provisions; mead instead of wine, millet in the place of bread, and a certain liquor named camus, which, according to the report of Priscus, was distilled from barley (42). Such fare might appear coarse and indelicate to men who had tafted the luxury of Constantinople: but, in their accidental distress, they were relieved by the gentleness and hospitality of the fame Barbarians, fo terrible and fo mercilefs in war. The ambaff dors had encamped on the edge of a large morals. A violent tempest of

⁽⁴²⁾ The Huns themselves still continued to despise the labours of agriculture, they abused the privilege of a victorious nation; and the Goths, their industrious subjects who cultivated the earth, dreaded the r neighbourhood, like that of so many ravenous wolves (Priscus, p. 45.). In the same manner the Satts and Tadgics provide for their own substitute, and for that of the Usbec Tartars, their laze and rapacious sovereigns. See Genealogical History of the Tartars, p. 423, 455, &cc.

wind and rain, of thunder and lightning, overturned their tents, immerfed their baggage and furniture in the water, and scattered their retinue. who wandered in the dark els of the night, uncertain of their road, and apprehensive of some unknown danger, till they awakened by their cries the inhabitants of a reighbouring village, the property of the widow of Bleda. illumination, and, in a few moments, a comfortable fire of reeds, was kindled by their officious benevolence: the wants, and even the defires, of the Romans were liberally fatisfied; and they feem to have been embarraffed by the fingular politeness of Bleda's widow, who added to her other favours the gift, or at least the loan, of a fufficient number of beautiful and obsequious damfels. The funshine of the fucceeding day was dedicated to repose; to collect and dry the baggage, and to the refreshment of the men and horses: but, in the evening, before they pursued their journey, the ambassadors expressed their gratitude to the bounteous lady of the village, by a very acceptable prefent of filver cups, red fleeces, dried fruits, and Indian pepper. Soon after this adventure, they rejoined the march of Attila, from whom they had been separated about fix days; and flowly proceeded to the capital of an empire, which did not contain, in the space of feveral thousand miles, a single city.

The royal village and palace.

As far as we may afcertain the vague and obscure geography of Priscus, this capital appears to have been seated between the Danube, and the Teyss, and the Carpathian hills, in the plains of Upper Hungary, and most probably in the neighbourhood of Jazberin, Agria, or Tokay (43). In its origin

⁽⁴³⁾ It is evident, that Priscus passed the Danube and the Teyss, and that he did not reach the foot of the Carpathian hills. Agria, Tokay,

origin it could be no more than an accidental camp, which, by the long and frequent refidence of Attila, had infenfibly swelled into a huge village, for the reception of his court, of the troops who followed his person, and of the various multitude of idle or industrious slaves and retainers (44). The baths, constructed by Onegefius, were the only edifice of stone; the materials had been transported from Pannonia; and fince the adjacent country was destitute even of large timber, it may be prefumed, that the meaner habitation of the royal village confifted of straw, of mud, or of canvas. The wooden houses of the more illustrious Huns, were built and adorned with rude magnificence, according to the rank, the fortune, or the tafte of the proprietors. They feem to have been distributed with some degree of order and fymmetry; and each fpot became more honourable, as it approached the person of the fovereign. The palace of Attila, which furpassed all other houses in his dominions, was built entirely of wood, and covered an ample space of ground. The outward enclosure was a lofty wall, or pallisade, of smooth square timber, intersected with high towers, but intended rather for orna-Vol. VI.-F ment

Tokay, and Jazberin, are situate in the plains circumscribed by this definition. M. de Buat (Histoire des Peuples, &c. tom. vii. p. 461.) has chosen Tokay; Otrokosci (p. 180. apud Mascou, ix. 23.), a learned Hungarian, has preferred Jazberin, a place about thirty-six miles westward of Buda and the Danube.

(44) The royal village of Attila may be compared to the city of Karacorum, the refidence of the successors of Zingis; which, though it appears to have been a more stable habitation, did not equal the fize or splendor of the town and abbey of St. Denys, in the 13th century (see Rubruquis, in the Histoire Generale des Voyages, tom. vii. p. 286.). The camp of Aurengzebe, as it is so agreeably described by Bernier (tom. ii. p. 217 -235.), blended the manners of Scythia with the magnificence and luxury of Hindostan.

ment than defence. This wall, which feems to have encircled the declivity of a hill, comprehended a great variety of wooden edifices, adapted to the uses of royalty. A separate house was assigned to each of the numerous wives of Attila; and, instead of the rigid and illiberal confinement imposed by Asiatic jealousy, they politely admitted the Roman ambassadors to their prefence, their table, and even to the freedom of an innocent embrace. When Maximin offered his prefents to Cerca, the principal queen, he admired the fingular architecture of her mansion, the height of the round columns, the fize and beauty of the wood, which was curiously shaped or turned, or polished, or carved; and his attentive eye was able to discover some taste in the ornaments, and fome regularity in the proportions. passing through the guards, who watched before the gate, the ambassadors were introduced into the private apartment of Cerca. The wife of Attila received their vifit fitting, or rather lying, on a foft couch; the floor was covered with a carpet; the domestics formed a circle round the queen; and her damsels, seated on the ground, were employed in working the variegated embroidery which adorned the dress of the Barbaric warriors. The Huns were ambitious of displaying those riches which were the fruit and evidence of their victories: the trappings of their horses, their swords, and even their shoes, were studded with gold and precious stones; and their tables were profusely spread with plates, and goblets, and vales of gold and filver, which had been fashioned by the labour of Grecian artists. monarch alone affumed the superior pride of still adhering to the simplicity of his Scythian anceftors (45). The dress of Attila, his arms, and the furniture of his horse, were plain, without ornament, and of a single colour. The royal table was served in wooden cups and platters; sless was his only food; and the conqueror of the North never tasted the luxury of bread.

When Attila first gave audience to the Roman The behaambassadors on the banks of the Danube, his viour of tent was encompassed with a formidable guard. Attila to The monarch himself was seated in a wooden ambassachair. His stern countenance, angry gestures, dors. and impatient tone, aftonished the firmness of Maximin; but Vigilius had more reason to tremble, fince he distinctly understood the menace, that if Attila did not respect the law of nations, he would nail the deceitful interpreter to a cross, and leave his body to the vultures. The Barbarian condescended, by producing an accurate lift, to expose the bold falsehood of Vigilius, who had affirmed that no more than seventeen deserters could be found. But he arrogantly declared, that he apprehended only the difgrace of contending with his fugitive flaves; fince he despised their impotent efforts to defend the provinces which Theodofius had entrusted to their arms: " For " what fortress" (added Attila), " what city, in " the wide extent of the Roman empire, can " hope to exist, secure and impregnable, if it is " our pleasure that it should be erazed from the " earth?" He dismissed, however, the interpreter, who returned to Constantinople with his peremptory demand of more complete restituti-

⁽⁴⁵⁾ When the Moguls displayed the spoils of Asia, in the diet of Toncat, the throne of Zingis was still covered with the original black felt carpet, on which he had been seated, when he was raised to the command of his warlike countrymen. See Vie de Gengiscan, 1, iv, c. 9.

on, and a more splendid embassy. His anger gradually subsided, and his domestic satisfaction, in a marriage which he celebrated on the road with the daughter of Essam, might perhaps contribute to mollify the native fierceness of his temper. The entrance of Attila into the royal village, was marked by a very fingular ceremony. A numerous troop of women came out to meet their hero, and their king. They marched before him, distributed into long and regular files: the intervals between the files were filled by white veils of thin linen, which the women on either fide bore aloft in their hands, and which formed a canopy for a chorus of young virgins, who chanted hymns and fongs in the Scythian language. The wife of his favourite Onegefius, with a train of female attendants, faluted Attila at the door of her own house, on his way to the palace; and offered, according to the custom f the country, her respectful homage, by intreating him to taste the wine and meat, which she had prepared for his reception. As foon as the monarch had graciously accepted her hospitable gift, his domestics lifted a small filver table to a convenient height, as he fat on horseback; and Attila, when he had touched the goblet with his lips, again faluted the wife of Onegefius, and continued his march. During his residence at the feat of the empire, his hours were not wasted in the recluse idleness of a seraglio; and the king of the Huns could maintain his fuperior dignity, without concealing his person from the public He frequently affembled his council, and gave audience to the ambassadors of the nations: and his people might appeal to the supreme tribunal, which he held at stated times, and, according to the eaftern cultom, before the principal gate

gate of his wooden palace. The Romans, both of the East and of the West, were twice invited to the banquets, where Attila feafted with the princes and nobles of Scythia. Maximin and The royal his colleagues were stopped on the threshold, till feast. they had made a devout libation to the health and prosperity of the king of the Huns; and were conducted, after this ceremony, to their respective seats in a spacious hall. The royal table and couch, covered with carpets and fine linen, was raised by several steps in the midst of the hall; and a fon, an uncle, or perhaps a favourite king, were admitted to share the simple and homely repast of Attila. Two lines of small tables, each of which contained three or four guests, were ranged in order on either hand; the right was effected the most honourable, but the Romans ingenuously confess, that they were placed on the left; and that Beric, an unknown chieftain, most probably of the Gothic race, preceded the representatives of Theodosius and Valentinian. The Barbarian monarch received from his cup-bearer a goblet filled with wine, and courteously drank to the health of the most diftinguished guest; who rose from his seat, and expressed, in the same manner, his loval and respectful vows. This ceremony was successively performed for all, or at least for the illustrious persons of the assembly; and a considerable time must have been confumed, fince it was thrice repeated, as each course or service was placed on the table. But the wine still remained after the meat had been removed; and the Huns continued to indulge their intemperance long after the fober and decent ambassadors of the two empires had withdrawn themselves from the nocturnal banquet. Yet before they retired, they enjoyed a fingular

a fingular opportunity of observing the manners of the nation in their convivial amusements. Two Scythians stood before the couch of Attila, and recited the verses which they had composed, to celebrate his valour and his victories. found filence prevailed in the hall; and the attention of the guests was captivated by the vocal harmony, which revived and perpetuated the memory of their own exploits: a martial ardour flashed from the eyes of the warriors, who were impatient for battle; and the tears of the old men expressed their generous despair, that they could no longer partake the danger and glory of the field (46). This entertainment, which might be confidered as a school of military virtue, was fucceeded by a farce, that debased the dignity of human nature. A Moorish and a Scythian buffoon successively excited the mirth of the rude spectators, by their deformed figure, ridiculous drefs, antic gestures, absurd speeches, and the strange unintelligible confusion of the Latin, the Gothic, and the Hunnic languages; and the hall refounded with loud and licentious peals of In the midst of this intemperate riot, laughter. Attila alone, without a change of countenance, maintained his stedsast and inflexible gravity; which was never relaxed, except on the entrance of Irnac, the youngest of his sons: he embraced the boy with a smile of paternal tenderness, gently pinched him by the cheek, and betrayed a partial affection, which was justified by the affurance of his prophets, that Irnac would be the future support of his family and empire. days

⁽⁴⁶⁾ If we may believe Plutarch (in Demetrio, tom. v. p. 24.), it was the custom of the Scythians, when they indulged in the pleasures of the table, to awaken their languid courage by the martial harmony of twanging their bow-strings.

days afterwards, the ambassadors received a second invitation; and they had reason to praise the politeness, as well as the hospitality, of Attila. The king of the Huns held a long and familiar conversation with Maximin; but his civility was interrupted by rude expressions, and haughty reproaches; and he was provoked, by a motive of interest, to support with unbecoming zeal, the private claims of his fecretary Constantius. " The " emperor" (said Attila) " has long promised " him a rich wife: Constantius must not be dif-" appointed; nor should a Roman emperor de-" ferve the name of liar." On the third day, the ambaffadors were difmiffed; the freedom of several captives were granted, for a moderate ransom, to their pressing entreaties; and, besides the royal presents, they were permitted to accept from each of the Scythian nobles, the honourable and useful gift of a horse. Maximin returned, by the same road, to Constantinople; and though he was involved in an accidental dispute with Beric, the new ambaffador of Attila, he flattered himself that he had contributed, by the laborious journey, to confirm the peace and alliance of the two nations (47).

But the Roman ambassador was ignorant of the Conspiracy treacherous design, which had been concealed of the Romans under the mask of the public faith. The surprise against the and satisfaction of Edecon, when he contem-life of plated the splendour of Constantinople, had encouraged the interpreter Vigilius to procure for him

(47) The curious narrative of this embassy, which required few observations, and was not susceptible of any collateral evidence, may be found in Priscus, p. 49—70. But I have not confined myself to the same order; and I had previously extracted the historical circumstances, which were less intimately connected with the journey, and business, of the Roman ambassadors.

him a fecret interview with the eunuch Chryfaphius (48), who governed the emperor and the empire. After some previous conversation, and a mutual oath of fecrecy, the eunuch, who had not, from his own feelings or experience, imbibed any exalted notions of ministerial virtue, ventured to propose the death of Attila, as an important fervice, by which Edecon might deferve a liberal share of the wealth and luxury which be admired. The ambaffador of the Huns liftened to the tempting offer; and professed, with apparent zeal, his ability, as well as readiness, to execute the bloody deed: the defign was communicated to the mafter of the effices, and the deyout Theodofius confented to the affaffination of his invincible enemy. But this perfidious confpiracy was defeated by the diffimulation, or the repentance, of Edecon; and, though he might exaggerate his inward abhorrence for the treason, which he feemed to approve, he dexteroufly affumed the merit of an early and voluntary confession. If we now review the embassy of Maximin, and the behaviour of Attila, we must applaud the Barbarian, who respected the laws of hospitality, and generously entertained and dismissed the minister of a prince, who had conspired against his life. But the rashness of Vigilius will appear still more extraordinary, fince he returned, conscious of his guilt and danger, to the royal camp; accompanied by his fon, and carrying with him a weighty purfe of gold, which

⁽⁴⁸⁾ M. de Tillemont has very properly given the succession of Chamberlains, who reigned in the name of Theodosius. Chrysaphius was the last, and, according to the unanimous evidence of history, the worst of these savourites (see Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 117—119. Mem. Eccles. tom. xv. p. 438.). His partiality for his godfather, the heresiarch Eutyches, engaged him to persecute the orthodox party.

the avourite eunuch had furnished, to satisfy the demands of Edecon, and to corrupt the fide ity of the guards. The interpreter was instantly feized, and dragged before the tribunal of Attila, where he afferted his innocence with specious firmness, till the threat of inflicting instant death on his ion, extorted from him a fincere discovery of the criminal transaction. Under the name of ranfom, or confiscation, the rapacious king of the Huns accepted two hundred punds of gold for the life of a traitor, whom he disdained to punish. He pointed his just indignation against a nobler object. His ambaliadors Eslaw and He repri-Orestes were immediately dispatched to Constan-mands and tinople, with a peremptory instruction, which it the Empewas much fafer for them to execute than to difo-ror. They boldly entered the imperial prefence, with the fatal purse hanging down from the neck of Orestes; who interrogated the eunuch Chrysaphius, as he ftood beside the throne, whether he recognised the evidence of his guilt. But the office of reproof was referved for the superior dignity of his colleague Eslaw, who gravely addressed the Emperor of the East in the following words: " Theodofius is the fon of an illustrious and respectable parent: Attila likewise is de-" scended from a noble race; and be has supported, by his actions, the dignity which he inherited from his father Mundzuk. "Theodofius has forfeited his paternal honours, " and, by confenting to pay tribute, has degraded himself to the condition of a slave. It is therefore just, that he should reverence the man whom fortune and merit have placed above him; instead of attempting, like a " wicked flave, chandeftimely to contpire against 66 his mafter." The fon of Arcadius, who was accustomed

accustomed only to the voice of flattery, heard with aftonishment the severe language of truth: he blushed and trembled; nor did he presume directly to refuse the head of Chrysaphius, which Eslaw and Orestes were instructed to demand. A folemn embaffy, armed with full powers and magnificent gifts, was hastily sent to deprecate the wrath of Attila; and his pride was gratified by the choice of Nomius and Anatolius, two ministers of consular or patrician rank, of whom the one was great treasurer, and the other was master-general of the armies of the East. He condescended to meet these ambassadors on the banks of the river Drenco; and though he at first affected a stern and haughty demeanour, his anger was infenfibly mollified by their eloquence and liberality. He condescended to pardon the emperor, the eunuch, and the interpreter; bound himself by an oath to observe the conditions of peace; released a great number of captives; abandoned the fugitives and deferters to their fate; and refigned a large territory to the fouth of the Danube, which he had already exhausted of its wealth and inhabitants. But this treaty was purchased at an expence which might have supported a vigorous and successful war; and the subjects of Theodosius were compelled to redeem the fafety of a worthless favourite by oppressive taxes, which they would more cheerfully have paid for his destruction (49).

Theodosius The emperor Theodosius did not long survive the young-the most humiliating circumstance of an inglorier dies,
A.D. 450.
July 28.

⁽⁴⁹⁾ This fecret conspiracy, and its important consequences, may be traced in the fragments of Priscus, p. 37, 38, 39, 54, 70, 71, 72. The chronology of that historian is not fixed by any precise date; but the series of negociations between Attila and the Eastern empire, must be included within the three or four years, which are terminated, A. D. 450, by the death of Theodosius.

ous life. As he was riding, or hunting, in the neighbourhood of Constantinople, he was thrown from his horse into the river Lycus; the spine of the back was injured by the fall; and he expired fome days afterwards, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign (50). His fifter Pulcheria, whose authority had been controled both in civil and ecclefiaftical affairs by the pernicious influence of the eunuchs, was unanimously proclaimed Empress of the East: and the Romans, for the first time, submitted to a female reign. No fooner had Pulcheria afcended the throne, than she indulged her own, and the public refentment, by an act of popular justice. Without any legal trial, the eunuch Chryfaphius was executed before the gates of the city: and the immense riches which had been accumulated by the rapacious favourite, served only to haften and to justify his punishment (51). Amidst the general acclamations of the clergy and people, the empress did not forget the prejudice and disadvantage to which her fex was exposed; and the wifely resolved to prevent their murmurs by the choice of a colleague, who would always respect the superior rank and virgin chastity of his wife. She gave her hand to Marican, a fenator, and is fue about fixty years of age, and the nominal huf-ceeded by band of Pulcheria was solemnly invested with the August 25. Imperial purple. The zeal which he displayed for the orthodox creed, as it was established by the

(50) Theodorus the Reader (see Vales. Hist. Eccles. tom. iii. p. 563.), and the Paschal Chronicle, mention the fall, without specifying the injury: but the consequence was so likely to happen, and so unlikely to be invented, that we may safely give credit to Nicephorus Callistus, a Greek of the sourceenth century.

(51) Pulcheriæ nutû (says Count Marcellinus) sua cum avaritia interemptus est. She abandoned the eunuch to the pious revenge of a son, whose father had suffered at his instigation.

the council of Chalcedon, would alone have infpired the grateful eloquence of the Catholics. But the behaviour of Marcian in a private life, and afterwards on the throne, may support a more rational belief, that he was qualified to restore and invigorate an empire, which had been almost diffolved by the fuccessive weakness of two hereditary monarchs. He was born in Thrace, and educated to the profession of arms; but Marcian's youth had been feverely exercifed by poverty and misfortune, fince his only resource, when he first arrived at Constantinople, consisted in two hundred pieces of gold, which he had borrowed of a friend. He passed nineteen years in the domestic and military service of Aspar, and his son Ardaburius; followed those powerful generals to the Persian and African wars; and obtained, by their influence, the honourable rank of tribune and fenator. His mild disposition, and useful talents, without alarming the jealoufy, recommended Marcian to the efteem and favour, of his patrons: he had feen, perhaps he had felt, the abufes of a venal and oppressive administration; and his own example gave weight and energy to the laws, which he promulgated for the reformation of manners (52.)

⁽⁵²⁾ Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. 4. Evagrius, I. ii. c. t. Theophanes, p. 90, 91. Novell. ad Calcem Cod. Theod. com. vi. p. 30. The praifes which S. Leo, and the Catholics, have bestowed on Marcian, are diligently transcribed by Baronius, as an encouragement for future princes.

CHAP. XXXV.

Invasion of Gaul by Attila.—--He is repulsed by Ætius and the Visigoths.——Attila invades and evacuates Italy.—The Deaths of Attila, Ætius, and Valentinian the Third.

TT was the opinion of Marcian, that war should Attila be avoided, as long as it is possible to preserve threatens both ema secure and honourable peace; but it was like-pires, and wife his opinion, that peace cannot be honourable prepares to or fecure, if the fovereign betrays a pufillanimous Gaul, aversion to war. This temperate courage dicta-A. D.450. ted his reply to the demands of Attila, who infolently pressed the payment of the annual tribute. The emperor fignified to the Barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome, by the mention of a tribute; that he was disposed to reward, with becoming liberality, the faithful friendship of his allies; but that, if they prefumed to violate the public peace, they should feel that he possessed troops, and arms, and refolution, to repel their attacks. The same language, even in the camp of the Huns, was used by his ambassador Apollonius, whose bold refusal to deliver the presents, till he had been admitted to a personal interview, displayed a sense of dignity, and a contempt of danger, which Attila was not prepared to expect from the degenerate Romans (1). He threatened to chastise the rash fuccesfor of Theodosius; but he hesitated, whether he should first direct his invincible arms against

⁽¹⁾ See Prifcus, p. 39. 72

against the Eastern or the Western empire. While mankind awaited his decision with awful fuspense, he sent an equal defiance to the courts Ravenna and Constantinople; and his ministens faluted the two empero s with the fame haughty declaration. "Attila, my lord, and thy lord, " commands thee to provide a palace for his im-" mediate reception (2)." But as the Barbarian despised, or affected to despise, the Romans of the East, whom he had so often vanquished, he foon declared his refolution of suspending the easy conquest, till he had atchieved a more glorious and important enterprise. In the memorable invasions of Gaul and Italy, the Huns were naturally attracted by the wealth and fertility of those provinces; but the particular motives and provocations of Attila, can only be explained by the state of the Western empire under the reign of Valentinian, or, to speak more correctly, under the administration of Ætius (3).

Character and administration of Ætius, A. D. 433

After the death of his rival Boniface, Ætius had prudently retired to the tents of the Huns; and he was indebted to their alliance for his fafety and his reftoration. Instead of the suppliant language of a guilty exile, he solicited his pardon at the head of fixty thousand Barbarians; and the empress Placidia confessed, by a feeble resistance, that the condescension, which might have been ascribed to elemency, was the effect of weakness or fear. She delivered herself, her son Valentinan.

(2) The Alexandrian or Paschal Chronicle, which introduces this haughty message, during the lifetime of Theodosius, may have anticipated the date; but the dull annalist was incapable of inventing the original and genuine style of Attila.

⁽³⁾ The second book of the Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. p. 189-424, throws great light on the state of Gaul, when it was invaded by Attila; but the ingenious author, the Abbé Dubos, too often bewilders himself in system and conjecture.

Valentinan, and the Western empire, into the hands of an infolent subject; nor could Placidia protect the fon-in-law of Boniface, the virtuous and faithful Sebastian (4), from the implacable persecution, which urged him from one kingdom to another, till he miserably perished in the fervice of the Vandals. The fortunate Ætius, who was immediately promoted to the rank of patrician, and thrice invested with the honours of the confulfhip, assumed, with the title of master of the cavalry and infantry, the whole military power of the state; and he is fometimes styled, by contemporary writers, the Duke, or General, of the Romans of the West. His prudence, rather than his virtue, engaged him to leave the grandfon of Theodosius in the possession of the purple: and Valentinian was permitted to enjoy the peace and luxury of Italy, while the patrician appeared in the glorious light of a hero and a patriot, who supported near twenty years the ruins of the Western empire. The Gothic historian ingenuously confesses, that Ætius was born for the falvation of the Roman republic (5); and the following portrait, though it is drawn in the fairest colours, must be allowed to contain a much larger proportion of truth than of flattery. " His

⁽⁴⁾ Victor Vitensis (de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 8. edit. Ruinart) calls him, acer confilio et strenuus in bello: but his courage, when he became unfortunate, was censured as desperate rashness; and Sebastian deserved, or obtained, the epithet of praceps (Sidon. Apoltinar. Carmen ix. 181.). His adventures at Constantinople, in Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and Africa, are faintly marked in the Chronicles of Marcellinus and Idatius. In his distress he was always followed by a numerous train; since he could ravage the Hellespont and Propontis, and seize the city of Barcelona.

⁽⁵⁾ Reipublicæ Romanæ singulariter natus, qui superbiam Suevorum, Francorumque barbariem immensis cœdibus servire Imperio Romano coegisset. Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. p. 660.

"His mother was a wealthy and noble Italian, and " his father Gaudentius, who held a diftinguished " rank in the province of Scythia, gradually rose " from the station of a military domestic, to the " dignity of mafter of the cavalry. "who was enrolled almost in his infancy in the " guards, was given as a hostage, first to Alaric, " and afterwards to the Huns; and he fucceffive-" ly obtained the civil and military honours of "the place, for which he was equally qualified " by superior merit. The graceful figure of " Ætjus was not above the middle stature; but " his manly limbs were admirably formed for " strength, beauty, and agility; and he excelled " in the martial exercises of managing a horse, " drawing the bow, and darting the javelin. He " could patiently endure the want of food or of " fleep; and his mind and body were alike ca-" pable of the most laborious efforts. He pos-" fessed the genuine courage, that can despise " not only dangers but injuries; and it was im-" possible either to corrupt, or deceive, or inti-" midate, the firm integrity of his foul (6)." The Barbarians, who had feated themselves in the Western provinces, were insensibly taught to respect the faith and valour of the patrician Æti-He foothed their passions, consulted their prejudices; balanced their interefts, and checked their ambition. A feafonable treaty, which he concluded with Genferic, protected Italy from

⁽⁶⁾ This portrait is drawn by Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus, a contemporary historian, known only by some extracts, which are preserved by Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 8, in tom. ii. p. 163.). It was probably the duty, or at least the interest, of Renatus, to magnify the virtues of Ætius; but he would have shewn more dexterity, if he had not infished on his patient, forgiving disposition.

the depredations of the Vandals; the independent Britons implored and acknowledged his falutary aid; the Imperial authority was restored and maintained in Gaul and Spain; and he compelled the Franks and the Suevi, whom he had vanquished in the field, to become the useful confe-

derates of the republic.

From a principle of interest, as well as grati- His contude, Ætius assiduously cultivated the alliance of nection the Huns. While he refided in their tents as a Huns and hostage, or an exile, he had familiarly conversed Alani. with Attila himself, the nephew of his benefactor; and the two famous antagonists appear to have been connected by a personal and military friendship, which they afterwards confirmed by mutual gifts, frequent embassies, and the education of Carpilio, the fon of Ætius, in the camp of Attila. By the specious professions of gratitude and voluntary attachment, the patrician might disguise his apprehensions of the Scythian conqueror, who pressed the two empires with his innumerable armies. His demands were obeyed or eluded. When he claimed the spoils of a vanquished city, some vases of gold, which had been fraudently embezzled; the civil and military governors of Noricum were immediately dispatched to satisfy his complaints (7): and it is evident, from their conversation with Maximin and Priscus, in the royal village, that the valour Vol. VI.-F

⁽⁷⁾ The embassy consisted of count Romulus; of Promotus, president of Noricum; and of Romanus, the military duke. They were accompanied by Tatullus, an illustrious citizen of Petovio, in the same province, and father of Orestes, who had married the daughter of Count Romulus. See Priscus, p. 57, 65. Cassio-dorius (Variar. i. 4.) mentions another embassy, which was executed by his father and Carpilio, the son of Ætius; and as Attila was no more, he could safely boass of their manly, intrepid behaviour in his presence,

and prudence of Ætius had not faved the Weftern Romans from the common ignominy of tribute. Yet his dexterous policy prolonged the advantages of a falutary peace; and a numerous army of Huns and Alani, whom he had attached to his person, was employed in the defence of Two colonies of these Barbarians were judiciously fixed in the territories of Valence and Orleans (8): and their active cavalry fecured the important passages of the Rhône and of the Loire. These savage allies were not indeed less formidable to the subjects than to the enemies of Rome. Their original fettlement was enforced with the licentious violence of conquett; and the province through which they marched, was exposed to all the calamities of an hostile invasion (9). Strangers to the emperor or the republic, the Alani of Gaul were devoted to the ambition of Ætius; and though he might suspect, that, in a contest with Attila himself, they would revolt to the standard of their national king, the patrician

(8) Deserta Valentinæ urbis rura Alanis partienda traduntur. Prosper. Tyronis Chron. in Historiens de France, tom. i. p. 639. A sew lines afterwards, Prosper observes, that lands in the ulterior Gaul were assigned to the Alani. Without admitting the correction of Dubos (tom. i. p. 300.); the reasonable supposition of two colonies or garrisons of Alani, will confirm his arguments, and remove his objections.

(9) See Prosper. Tyro, p. 369. Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 246.) complains, in the name of Auvergne, his native country.

Litorius Scythicos equites tunc forte subacto Celsus Aremorico, Geticum rapiebat in agmen Per terras, Arverne, tuas, qui proxima quæque. Discursu, flammis, ferro, feritate, rapinis, Delebant; pacis sallentes nomen inane.

Another poet, Paulinus of Perigord, confirms the complaint :

Nam socium vix ferre queas, qui durior hoste. See Dubos, tom. i. p. 330. patrician laboured to restrain, rather than to excite, their zeal and resentment against the Goths,

the Burgundians, and the Franks.

The kingdom established by the Visigoths in The Visithe fouthern provinces of Gaul, had gradually goths in acquired strength and maturity; and the conduct der the of those ambitious Barbarians, either in peace o reign of war, engaged the perpetual vigilance of Ætius. Theodo-ric, A. D. After the death of Wallia, the Gothic sceptre de-419-45x. volved to Theodoric, the fon of the great Alaric (10); and his prosperous reign, of more than thirty years, over a turbulent people, may be allowed to prove, that his prudence was supported by uncommon vigour, both of mind and body. Impatient of his narrow limits, Theodoric aspired to the possession of Arles, the wealthy seat of government and commerce; but the city was faved by the timely approach of Ætius; and the Gothic king, who had raifed the fiege with some loss and difgrace, was perfuaded, for an adequate fublidy, to divert the martial valour of his fubjects in a Spanish war. Yet Theodoric still watched, and eagerly seized, the favourable moment of renewing his hostile attempts. The Goths befreged Narbonne, while the Belgic provinces were invaded by the Burgundians; and the public fafety was threatened on every fide by the apparent union of the enemies of Rome. On every side, the activity of Ætins, and his Scythian cavalry, opposed a firm and successful resistance. Twenty

Quæ noster peccavit avus, quem fuscat id unum,

⁽¹⁰⁾ Theodoric II. the fon of Theodoric I., declares to Avitus his refolution of repairing, or explating, the fault which his grandfather had committed.

Twenty thousand Burgundians were flain in battle; and the remains of the nation humbly accepted a dependent feat in the mountains of Savoy (11). The walls of Narbonne had been shaken by the battering engines, and the inhabitants had endured the last extremities of famine, when count Litorius, approaching in filence, and directing each horseman to carry behind him two facks of flour, cut his way through the intrenchments of the beliegers. The fiege was immediately raised; and the more decisive victory, which is ascribed to the personal conduct of Ætius himfelf, was marked with the blood of eight thoufand Goths. But in the absence of the patrician, who was haftily fummoned to Italy by some public or private interest, count Litorius succeeded to the command; and his prefumption foon discovered, that far different talents are required to lead a wing of cavalry, or to direct the operations of an important war. At the head of an army of Huns, he rashly advanced to the gates of Thoulouse, full of careless contempt for an enemy, whom his misfortunes had rendered prudent, and his fituation made desperate. The predictions of the Augurs had inspired Litorius with the profane confidence, that he should enter the Gothic capital in triumph; and the trust which he reposed in his Pagan allies, encouraged him to reject the fair conditions of peace, which were repeatedly proposed by the bishops in the name of Theodoric. The king of the Goths exhibited

⁽¹¹⁾ The name of Sapaudia, the origin of Savoy, is first mentioned by Ammianus Marcellinus; and two military posts are ascertained, by the Notitia, within the limits of that province; a cohort was stationed at Grenoble in Dauphiné; and Ebredunum, or Iverdun, sheltered a fleet of small vessels, which commanded the lake of Neuschâtel. See Valesius, Notit. Galliarum, p. 503. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 284, 579.

exhibited in his diffress the edifying contrast of Christian piety and moderation; nor did he lay aside his sackcloth and ashes till he was prepared to arm for the combat. His foldiers, animated with martial and religious enthusiasm, assaulted the camp of Litorius. The conflict was obstinate; the flaughter was mutual. The Roman general, after a total defeat, which could be imputed only to his unskilful rashness, was actually led through the streets of Thoulouse, not in his own, but in a hostile, triumph; and the misery which he experienced, in a long and ignominious captivity, excited the compassion of the Barbarians themselves (12). Such a loss, in a country whose spirit and finances were long since exhausted, could not easily be repaired; and the Goths, assuming in their turn, the fentiments of ambition and revenge, would have planted their victorious standards on the banks of the Rhône, if the presence of Ætius had not restored strength and discipline to the Romans (13). The two armies expected the fignal of a decifive action; but the generals, who were conscious of each other's force, and doubtful of their own fuperiority, prudently sheathed their swords in the field of battle ;

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(12) Salvian has attempted to explain the moral government of the Deity; a task which may be readily performed by supposing, that the calamities of the wicked are, judgments, and those of the righteous, trials.

(13) — Capto terrarum damna patebant
Litorio, in Rhodanum proprios producere fines,
Theudoridæ fixum; nec erat puguare necesse,
Sed migrare Getis; rabidam trux asperat iram
Victor; quòd sensit Scythicum sub mænibus hostem
Imputat, et nihil est gravius, fi forstan unquam
Vincere contingat, trepido.

Panegyr. Avit. 300, &c. Sidonius then proceeds, according to the duty of a panegyrift. to transfer the whole merit from Ætius, to his minister Avitus.

tle: and their reconciliation was permanent and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths, apfincere. pears to have deserved the love of his subjects. the confidence of his allies, and the efteem of mankind. His throne was furrounded by fix valiant fons, who were educated with equal care in the exercises of Barbarian camp, and in those of the Gallic schools: from the study of the Roman jurisprudence, they acquired the theory, at leaft, of law and justice; and the harmonious fense of Virgil contributed to soften the asperity of their native manners (14). The two daughters of the Gothic king were given in marriage to the eldest sons of the kings of the Suevi and of the Vandals, who reigned in Spain and Africa; but these illustrious alliances were pregnant with guilt and discord. The queen of the Suevi bewailed the death of an husband, inhumanly masfacred by her brother. The princess of the Vandals was the victim of a jealous tyrant, whom she called her father. The cruel Genseric sufpected, that his fon's wife had conspired to poifon him; the supposed crime was punished by the amputation of her nose and ears; and the unhappy daughter of Theodoric was ignominioufly returned to the court of Thoulouse in that deformed and mutilated condition. This horrid act, which must feem incredible to a civilized age, drew tears from every spectator; but Theodoric was urged, by the feelings of a parent and a king, to revenge fuch irreparable injuries. The Imperial

(14) Theodoric II. revered, in the person of Avitus, the character of his preceptor.

Per te jura placent : parvumque edifcere justit Ad tua verba pater, docili quo prisca Maronis Carmine molliret Scythicos mihi pagina mores. Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 495, &c. Imperial ministers who always cherished the discord of the Barbarians, would have supplied the Goths with arms, and ships, and treasures, for the African war; and the cruelty of Genseric might have been fatal to himself, if the artful Vandal, had not armed, in his cause, the formidable power of the Huns. His rich gists and pressing solicitations inslamed the ambition of Attila; and the designs of Ætius and Theodoric were prevented by the invasion of Gaul (15).

The Franks, whose monarchy was still confin-The Franks in ed to the neighbourhood of the Lower Rhine, Gaul, unhad wisely established the right of hereditary der the succession in the noble family of the Merovingi-gian kings, ans (16). These princes were elevated on a A. D. 420, buckler, the symbol of military command (17);—451. and the royal sashion of long hair was the ensign of their birth and dignity. Their flaxen locks, which they combed and dressed with singular care,

hung

⁽¹⁵⁾ Our authorities for the reign of Theodoric I. are, Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 34. 26. and the Chronicles of Idatius, and the two Prospers, inserted in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 612—640. To these we may add Salvian de Gubernatione Dei, l. vii. p. 243, 244, 245. and the Panegyric of Avitus, by Sidonius.

⁽¹⁶⁾ Reges Crinitos se creavisse de primâ, et ut ita dicam nobiliori suorum familià (Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 9. p. 166. of the second volume of the Historians of France). Gregory himself does not mention the Merovingian name, which may be traced, however, to the beginning of the seventh century, as the distinctive appellation of the royal family, and even of the French monarchy. An ingenious critic has deduced the Merovingians from the great Maroboduus; and he has clearly proved, that the prince, who gave his name to the first race, was more than the father of Childeric. See Memoires de l'Academié des Inscriptions, tom.

xx. p. 52-90. tom. xxx. p. 557-587.

(17) This German custom, which may be traced from Tacitus to Gregory of Tours, was at length adopted by the emperors of Constantinople. From a MS. of the tenth century, Montfaucon has delineated the representation of a similar ceremony, which the ignorance of the age had applied to king David. See Monuments de la Monarchie Françoise, tom. i. Discourse Preliminairs.

hung down in flowing ringlets on their back and shoulders; whilst the rest of the nation were obliged, either by law or cuftom, to shave the hinder part of their head; to comb their hair over their forehead, and to content themselves with the ornament of two small whiskers (18). lofty stature of the Franks, and their blue eyes, denoted a Germanic origin; their close apparel accurately expressed the figure of their limbs; a weighty fword was suspended from a broad belt; their bodies were protected by a large shield: and these warlike Barbarians were trained, from their earliest youth, to run, to leap, to swim; to dart the javelin, or battle-axe, with unerring aim; to advance, without hefitation, against a fuperior enemy; and to maintain, either in life or death, the invincible reputation of their anceftors (19). Clodion, the first of their longhaired kings, whose name and actions are mentioned in authentic history, held his residence at Dispargum (20), a village, or fortress, whose place may be affigned between Louvain and Bruffels. From the report of his spies, the king of

(18) Cæsaries prolixa. . . . crinium stagellis per terga dimission. See the Presace to the third volume of the Historians of France, and the Abbé Le Bouf (Differtat. tom. iii. p. 47-79.). This peculiar fashion of the Merovingians has been remarked by natives and strangers; by Priscus (tom. i. p. 608.), by Agathias (tom. ii. p. 49.), and by Gregory of Tours, l. iii. 18. vi. 24. viii. 10. tom. ii. p. 196. 278. 316.

(19) See an original picture of the figure, dress, arms, and temper of the ancient Franks in Sidonius Apollinaris (Panegyr. Majorian, 238—254.); and such pictures, though coarsely drawn, have a real and intrinsic value. Father Daniel (Hist. de la Milice Françoise, tom. 1. p. 2—7.) has illustrated the descrip-

tion.

⁽²⁰⁾ Dubos, Hist. Critique, &c. tom. i. p. 271, 272. Some geographers have placed Dispargum on the German side of the Rhine. See a note of the Benedictine Editors to the Historians of France, tom. ii. p. 166.

Franks was informed, that the defenceless state of the second Belgic must yield, on the slightest attack, to the valour of his subjects. He boldly penetrated through the thickets and moraffes of the Carbonarian forest (21); occupied Tournay and Cambray, the only cities which existed in the fifth century, and extended his conquests as far as the river Somme, over a defolate country, whose cultivation and populousness are the effects of more recent industry (22). While Clodion lay encamped in the plains of Artois (23), and celebrated, with vain and oftentatious fecurity, the marriage, perhaps, of his fon, the nuptial feast was interrupted by the unexpected and unwelcome presence of Ætius, who had passed the Somme at the head of his light cavalry. The tables, which had been spread under the shelter of a hill, along the banks of a pleafant stream. were rudely overturned; the Franks were oppressed before they could recover their arms, or their ranks; and their unavailing valour was fatal only to themselves. The loaded waggons, which had followed their march, afforded a rich booty; and the virgin-bride, with her female attendants, fubmitted to the new lovers, who were imposed on them by the chance of war. This advantage,

(21) The Carbonarian wood, was that part of the great forest of the Ardennes, which lay between the Escaut, or Scheld, and the Meufe. Valef. Notit. Gall. p. 126.

(22) Gregor. Turon. 1. ii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 166, 167. Fredegar. Epitom. c. 9. p. 395. Gelta Reg. Francor. c. 5. in tom. ii. p. 544. Vit. S. Remig. ab Hincmar, in tom. iii. p. 373.

(23) ——Francus quâ Cloio patentes

Atrebatum terras pervalerat .-Panegyr. Majorian. 212. The precise spot was a town, or village, called Vicus Helena; and both the name and the place are discovered by modern geographers at Lens. See Valef. Notit. Gall. p. 246. Longuerue Description de la France, tom. ii. p. 88.

which had been obtained by the skill and activity of Ætius, might reflect some disgrace on the military prudence of Clodion; but the king of the Franks foon regained his strength and reputation, and still maintained the possession of his Gallic kingdom from the Rhine to the Somme (24). Under his reign, and most probably from the enterprifing spirit of his subjects, the three capitals, Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, experienced the effects of hostile cruelty and avarice. The diffress of Cologne was prolonged by the perpetual dominion of the same Barbarians, who evacuated the ruins of Treves; and Treves, which, in the space of forty years, had been four times belieged and pillaged, was disposed to lose the memory of her afflictions in the vain amusements of the Circus (25). The death of Clodion, after a reign of twenty years, exposed his kingdom to the discord and ambition of his two fons. Meroveus, the younger (26), was perfuaded to implore the protection of Rome; he was received at the Imperial court, as the ally of Valentinian.

(24) See a vague account of the action in Sidonius. Panegyr. Majorian. 212-230. The French critics, impatient to establish their monarchy in Gaul, have drawn a strong argument from the silence of Sidonius, who dares not infinuate, that the vanquished Franks were compelled to repass the Rhine, Dubos, tom. i. p. 322.

(25) Salvian (de Gubernat. Dei, l. vi.) has expressed, in vague and declamatory language, the missortunes of these three cities, which are distinctly accertained by the learned Mascou,

Hift. of the Ancient Germans, ix. 21.

(26) Priscus, in relating the contest, does not name the two brothers; the second of whom he had seen at Rome, a beardless youth, with long flowing hair (Historians of France, tom. i. p. 607, 608.). The Benedictine Editors are inclined to believe, that they were the sons of some unknown king of the Franks, who reigned on the banks of the Necker: but the arguments of M. de Foncemagne (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. viii. p. 464. seem to prove, that the succession of Clodion was disputed by his two sons, and that the younger was Meroveus, the father of Childeric.

lentinian, and the adopted fon of the patrician Ætius; and dismissed, to his native country, with splendid gifts, and the strongest affurances of friendship and support. During his absence, his elder brother had folicited, with equal ardour. the formidable aid of Attila; and the king of the Huns embraced an alliance, which facilitated the passage of the Rhine, and justified, by a specious and honourable pretence, the invasion of Gaul

(27).

When Attila declared his resolution of sup-The adporting the cause of his allies, the Vandals and ventures of the printhe Franks, at the same time, and almost in the cess Honofpirit of romantic chivalry, the favage monarch ria. professed himself the lover and the champion of the princess Honoria. The fifter of Valentinian waseducated in the palace of Ravenna; and as her marriage might be productive of some danger to the state, she was raised, by the title of lugusta (28), above the hopes of the most presumptuous subject. But the fair Honoria had no sooner attained the fixteenth year of her age, than the detefted the importunate greatness, which must for ever exclude her from the comforts of honourable love: in the midst of vain and unsatisfactory pomp, Honoria fighed, vielded to the impulse of nature, and threw herfelf into the arms of her chamberlain Eugenius. Her guilt and shame (fuch is the abfurd language of imperious man)

(27) Under the Merovingian race, the throne was hereditary 3 but all the fons of the deceased monarch were equally intilled to their share of his treasures and territories. See the Differtations of M. de Foncemagne in the fixth and eighth volumes of the Memoires de l'Academie.

(28) A medal is still extant, which exhibits the pleasing countenance of Honoria, with the title of Augusta; and on the reverse, the improper legend of Salus Reigublica round the monagram of Chritt. See Ducange, Famil. Byzantin. p. 67. 73.

were foon betrayed by the appearances of pregnancy: but the difgrace of the royal family was published to the world by the imprudence of the empress Placidia; who dismissed her daughter, after a strict and shameful confinement, to a remote exile at Constantinople. The unhappy princess passed twelve or fourteen years in the irkfome fociety of the fifters of Theodofius, and their chosen virgins; to whose crown Honoria could no longer aspire, and whose monastic assiduity of prayer, fasting, and vigils, she reluctantly imitated. Her impatience of long and hopeless celibacy, urged her to embrace a strange and desperate resolution. The name of Attila was familiar and formidable at Constantinople; and his frequent embassies entertained a perpetual intercourse between his camp and the Imperial palace. In the pursuit of love, or rather of revenge, the daughter of Placidia facrificed every duty, and every prejudice; and offered to deliver her person into the arms of a Barbarian, of whose language she was ignorant, whose figure was scarcely human, and whose religion and manners the abhorred. By the ministry of a faithful eunuch, the transmitted to Attila a ring, the pledge of her affection; and earnestly conjured him to claim her as a lawful spouse, to whom he had been fecretly betrothed. These indecent advances were received, however, with coldness and disdain; and the king of the Huns continued to multiply the number of his wives, till his love was awakened by the more forcible passions of ambition and avarice. The invasion of Gaul was preceded, and justified, by a formal demand of the princess Honoria, with a just and equal share of the Imperial patrimony. His predecesfors, the ancient Tanjous, had often addressed, in the fame hostile and peremptory manner, the daughters of China; and the pretentions of Attila were not less offensive to the majesty of Rome. A firm, but temperate, refusal was communicated to his ambaffadors. The right of female fuccession, though it might derive a specious argument from the recent examples of Placidia and Pulcheria, was strenuously denied; and the indiffolible engagements of Honoria were oppofed to the claims of her Scythian lover (29). On the discovery of her connection with the king of the Huns, the guilty princess had been sent away, as an object of herror, from Constantinople to Italy: her life was spared: but the ceremony of her marriage was performed with some obscure and nominal husband, before she was immured in a perpetual prison, to bewail those crimes and misfortunes, which Honoria might have escaped, had she not been born the daughter of an emperor (30).

A native of Gaul, and a contemporary, the Attila inlearned and eloquent Sidonius, who was after-vades Gaul wards bishop of Clermont, had made a promise fieges Orto one of his friends, that he would compose a leans. regular history of the war of Attila. If the mo-A.D.451, desty of Sidonius had not discouraged him from the prosecution of this interesting work (31), the historian

(29) See Priscus, p. 39, 40. It might be fairly alleged, that if females could succeed to the throne, Valentinian himself, who had married the daughter and heires of the younger Theodosius, would have afferted her right to the eastern empire.

(30) The adventures of Honoria are imperfectly related by Jornandes, de Successione Regn. c. 97. and de Reb. Get. c. 42. p. 674.; and in the Chronicles of Prosper, and Marcellinus; but they cannot be made consistent, or probable, unless we separate, by an interval of time and place, her intrigue with Eugenius, and her invitation of Attila.

(31) Exegeras mihi, ut promitterem tibi, Attilæ bellum stylo me posteris intimaturum cœperam scribere, sed operis arrepti sasce perspecto, tæduit inchoasse. Sidon. Apoll. 1. viii. spist. 15. p. 246.

historian would have related, with the simplicity of truth, those memorable events, to which the poet, in vague and doubtful metaphors, has concifely alluded (32). The kings and nations of Germany and Scythia, from the Volga perhaps to the Danube, obeyed the warlike fummons of Attila. From the royal village, in the plains of Hungary, his standard moved towards the West; and, after a march of feven or eight hundred miles, he reached the conflux of the Rhine and the Necker; where he was joined by the Franks, who adhered to his ally, the elder of the fons of Clodion. A troop of light Barbarians, who roamed in quest of plunder, might chuse the winter for the convenience of passing the river on the ice; but the innumerable cavalry of the Huns required fuch plenty of forage and provisions, as could be procured only in a milder feason; the Hercynian forest supplied materials for a bridge of boats; and the hostile myriads were poured, with refistless violence, into the Belgic provinces (33).

Barbaries totas in te transfuderat Arctos,
Gallia. Pugnacem Rugum comitante Gelono
Gepida trux fequitur; Scyrum Burgundio cogit:
Chunus, Bellonotus, Neurus, Bafterna, Toringus
Bructerus, ulvota vel quem Nicer abluit unda
Prorumpu Francus. Cecidit cito fecta bipenni
Hercynia in linties, et Rhenum texuit alno.
Et jam terrificis diffuderat Artila turmis
In campos fe Belga tuos.—

Panegyr. Avit. 319, &c. (33) The most authentic and circumstantial account of this war, is contained in Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 36—41. p. 662—672), who has sometimes abridged, and sometimes transcribed, the targer history of Cassiodorius. Jornandes, a quotation which it would be superfluous to repeat, may be corrected and illustrated by Gregory of Tours, l. 2. c. 5, 6, 7. and the Chronicles of Idatius, Isidore, and the two Prospers. All the ancient testimonies are collected and inserted in the Historians of France; but the reader should be cautioned against a supposed extract from the Chronicle of Idatius (among the fragments of Fregedarius, tom. ii. p. 462.), which often contradicts the genuine text of the Gassician bishop.

The consternation of Gaul was universal; and the various fortunes of its cities have been adorned by tradition with martyrdoms and miracles (34). Troyes was faved by the merits of St. Lupus; St. Servatius was removed from the world, that he might not behold the ruin of Tongres; and the prayers of St. Genevieve diverted the march of Attila from the neighbourhood of Paris. But as the greatest part of the Gallic cities were alike destitute of saints and soldiers, they were belieged and stormed by the Huns: who practifed, in the example of Metz (35), their customary maxims of war. They involved, in a promiscuous massacre, the priests who served at the altar, and the infants, who, in the hour of danger, had been providentially baptized by the bishop; the flourishing city was delivered to the flames, and a folitary chapel of St. Stephen marked the place where it formerly stood. From the Rhine and the Moselle, Attila advanced into the heart of Gaul; croffed the Seine at Auxerre; and, after a long and laborious march, fixed his camp under the walls of Orleans. He was defirous of securing his conquests by the possession

(34) The ancient legendaries deserve some regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real history of their own times. See the lives of St. Lupus, St. Anianus, the bishops of Metz, Ste. Genevieve, &c. in the Historians of France, tom. i. p. 644, 645. 649. tom. iii. p. 369.

(35) The scepticism of the count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, som. vii. p. 539, 540.) cannot be reconciled with any principles of reason or criticism. Is not Gregory of Tours precise and positive in his account of the destruction of Metz? At the distance of no more than an hundred years, could he be ignorant, could the people be ignorant, of the fate of a city, the actual residence of his sovereigns, the kings of Austrasia? The learned Count, who seems to have undertaken the apology of Attila, and the Barbarians, appeals to the false Idatius, parcens civitatibus Germaniæ et Galliæ, and forgets, that the true Idatius had explicitly affirmed, plurimæ civitates effrate, among which he enumerates Metz.

of an advantageous post, which commanded the passage of the Loire; and he depended on the fecret invitation of Sangiban, king of the Alani, who had promised to betray the city, and to revolt from the fervice of the empire. But this treacherous conspiracy was detected and disappointed: Orleans had been strengthened with recent fortifications; and the affaults of the Huns were vigoroufly repelled by the faithful valour of the foldiers, or citizens, who defended the place. The pastoral diligence of Anianus, a bishop of primitive fanctity and confummate prudence, exhausted every art of religious policy to support their courage, till the arrival of the expected fuccours. After an obstinate siege, the walls were shaken by the battering rams; the Huns had already occupied the fuburbs; and the people, who were incapable of bearing arms, lay Anianus, who anxiously prostrate in prayer. counted the days and hours, dispatched a trusty messenger to observe, from the rampart, the face of the distant country. - He returned twice, without any intelligence, that could inspire hope or comfort; but in his third report, he mentioned a small cloud, which he had faintly descried at the extremity of a horizon. "It is the aid of "God," exclaimed the bishop, in a tone of pious confidence; and the whole multitude repeated after him, " It is the aid of God." The remote object, on which every eye was fixed, became each moment larger, and more diffinct, the Roman and Gothic banners were gradually perceived; and a favourable wind blowing afide the dust, discovered, in deep array, the impatient fquadrons of Ætius and Theodoric, who pressed forwards to the relief of Orleans.

The facility with which Attila had penetrated Alliance of the into the heart of Gaul, may be afcribed to his in-Romans fidious policy, as well as to the terror of his and Vine arms. His public declarations were skilfully mi-goths, tigated by his private affurances; he alternately foothed and threatened the Romans and the Goths; and the courts of Ravenna and Thoulouse, mutually suspicious of each other's intentions, beheld, with supine indifference, the approach of their common enemy. Ætius was the fole guardian of the public fafety; but his wifest measures were embarrassed by a faction, which, fince the death of Placidia, infested the Imperial palace: the youth of Italy trembled at the found of the trumpet; and the Barbarians, who, from fear or affection, were inclined to the cause of Attila, awaited, with doubtful and venal faith, the event of the war. The patrician paffed the Alps at the head of some troops, whose strength and numbers scarcely deserved the name of an army (36). But on his arrival at Arles, or Lyons, he was confounded by the intelligence, that the Vifigoths, refusing to embrace the defence of Gaul, had determined to expect, within their own territories, the formidable invader, whom they professed to despise. The senator Avitus, who, after the honourable exercise of the prætorian Præfecture, had retired to his estate in Auvergne, was perfuaded to accept the important embaffy, which he executed with ability and fuccess. He represented to Theodoric, that an ambitious conqueror, who aspired to the domi-VOL. VI.-F nion

(55) — Vix liquerat Alpes
Actius, tenue, et rarum fine milite ducens
Robur, in auxiliis Geticum male credulus agmen
Incassum propriis præsumens adfore castris.
Panegyr. Avit. 328, &c.

nion of the earth, could be refifted only by the firm and unanimous alliance of the powers whom he laboured to oppress. The lively eloquence of Avitus inflamed the Gothic warriors, by the description of the injuries which their ancestors had suffered from the Huns; whose implacable fury still purfued them from the Danube to the foot of the Pyrenees. He strenuously urged, that it was the duty of every Christian to save, from sacrilegious violation, the churches of God, and the relics of the faints: that it was the interest of every Barbarian, who had acquired a fettlement in Gaul, to defend the fields and vineyards, which were cultivated for his use, against the desolation of the Scythian shepherds. Theodoric yielded to the evidence of truth; adopted the measure at once the most prudent and the most honourable; and declared, that, as the faithful ally of Ætius and the Romans, he was ready to expose his life and kingdom for the common fafety of Gaul (37). The Visigoths, who, at that time, were in the mature vigour of their fame and power, obeyed with alacrity the fignal of war; prepared their arms and horses, and affembled under the flandard of their aged king, who was refolved, with his two eldest sons, Torismond and Theodoric, to command in person his numerous and valiant people. The example of the Goths determined feveral tribes or nations, that feemed to fluctuate between the Huns and the Romans. The indefatigable

⁽³⁷⁾ The policy of Attila, of Ætitus, and of the Visigoths, is imperfectly described in the Panegyric of Avitus, and the thirty-fixth chapter of Jornandes. The poet and the historian were both biassed by personal or national prejudices. The former exalts the merit and importance of Avitus; orbis, Avite, salus, &c.! The latter is anxious to shew the Goths in the most favourable light. Yet their agreement, when they are fairly interpreted, is a proof of their veracity.

indefatigable diligence of the patrician gradually collected the troops of Gaul and Germany, who had formerly acknowledged themselves the subjects, or soldiers, of the republic, but who now claimed the rewards of voluntary service, and the rank of independent allies; the Læti, the Armoricans, the Breones, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Sarmatians, or Alani, the Ripuarians, and the Franks who followed Meroveus as their lawful prince. Such was the various army, which, under the conduct of Ætius and Theodoric, advanced, by rapid marches, to relieve Orleans, and to give battle to the innumerable host of Attila (38).

On their approach, the king of the Huns im-Attila remediately raised the siege, and sounded a retreat tires to the to recall the foremost of his troops from the pil-Chamlage of a city which they had already entered pagne. (39). The valour of Attila was always guided by his prudence; and as he foresaw the satal consequences of a defeat in the heart of Gaul, he repassed the Seine, and expected the enemy in the plains of Châlons, whose smooth and level surface was adapted to the operations of his Scythian cavalry. But in this tumultuary retreat,

(28) The review of the army of Ætius is made by Jornandes. 36. p. 664. edit. Grot. tom. ii. p. 23. of the Historians of France, with the notes of the Benedictine Editor. The Lativere a promiscuous race of Burbarians, born or naturalized in Gaul; and the Riparii, or Ripuarii, derived their, name from their posts on the three rivers, the Rhine, the Meuse, and the Moselle; the Armoricans possessed the independent cities between the Seine and the Loire. A colony of Saxons had been planted in the diocese of Bayeux; the Burgundians were settled in Savoy; and the Breones were a warlike tribe of Rhætians, to the east of the lake of Constance.

(39) Aurelianensis urbis obsidio, oppugnatio, irruptio, nee direptio, I. v. Sidon. Apollin. I. viii. epist. 15. p. 246. The preservation of Orleans might easily be turned into a miracle, obtained, and foretold, by the holy bishop.

the vanguard of the Romans, and their allies, continually pressed, and sometimes engaged, the troops whom Attila had posted in the rear; the hostile columns, in the darkness of the night, and the perplexity of the roads, might encounter each other without defign; and the bloody conflict of the Franks and Cepidæ, in which fifteen thousand (40) Barbarians were slain, was a prelude to a more general and decifive action. Catalaunian fields (41) spread themselves round Châlons, and extend, according to the vague measurement of Jornandes, to the length of one hundred and fifty, and the breadth of one hundred, miles, over the whole province, which is intitled to the appellation of a champaign country (42). This spacious plain was distinguished, however, by some inequalities of ground; and the importance of an height, which commanded the camp of Attila, was understood, and difputed, by the two generals. The young and valiant Torismond first occupied the summit; the Goths rushed with irresistible weight on the Huns, who laboured to ascend from the opposite side; and the possession of this advantageous post infpired both the troops and their leaders with a fair affurance of victory. The anxiety of Attila prompted him to confult his priefts and harufpices. It was reported, that, after forutinizing the

(40) The common editions read XCM; but there is some authority of manuscripts (and almost any authority is sufficient) for the more reasonable number of XVM.

(41) Châlons, or Duro-Catalaunum, afterwards Catalauni, had formerly made a part of the territory of Rheims, from whence it is distant only twenty-seven miles. See Vales. Notit. Gall. p. 136. D'Anville, Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, p. 212. 279.

⁽⁴²⁾ The name of Campania, or Champagne, is frequently mentioned by Gregory of Tours; and that great province, of which Rheims was the capital, obeyed the command of a duke. Vales. Notit. p. 120—123.

entrails of victims, and scraping their bones, they revealed, in mysterious language, his own defeat, with the death of his principal adversary; and that the Barbarian, by accepting the equivalent, expressed his involuntary esteem for the superior merit of Ætius. But the unufual despondency, which feemed to prevail among the Huns, engaged Attila to use the expedient, so familiar to the generals of antiquity, of animating his troops by a military oration; and his language was that of a king, who had often fought and conquered at their head (43). He pressed them to consider their past glory, their actual danger, and their future hopes. The fame fortune, which opened the deferts and moraffes of Scythia to their unarmed valour, which had laid fo many warlike nations proftrate at their feet, had referved the joys of this memorable field for the confummation of their victories. The cautious steps of their enemies, their strict alliance, and their advantageous posts he artfully represented as the effects. not of prudence, but of fear. The Viligoths alone were the strength and nerves of the opposite army; and the Huns might fecurely trample on the degenerate Romans, whose close and compact order betrayed their apprehensions, and who were equally incapable of supporting the dangers, or the fatigues, of a day of battle. The doctrine of predeffination, fo favourable to martial virtue. was carefully inculcated by the king of the Huns; who affured his fubjects, that the warriors, pro-

⁽⁴³⁾ I am sensible that these military orations are usually composed by the historian; yet the old Ostrogoths, who had served under Attila, might repeat his discourse to Cassiodorius: the ideas, and even the expressions, have an original Scythian cast; and I doubt, whether an Italian of the fixth century, would have thought of the, hujus certaminis gaudia.

tected by Heaven, were fafe and invulnerable amidst the darts of the enemy; but that the unerring Fates would strike their victims in the bofom of inglorious peace. "I myfelf," continued Attila, " will throw the first javelin, and the " wretch who refuses to imitate the example of " his fovereign, is devoted to inevitable death." The spirit of the Barbarians was rekindled by the presence, the voice, and the example of their intrepid leader; and Attila, yielding to their impatience, immediately formed his order of battle. At the head of his brave and faithful Huns, he occupied, in person, the centre of the line. The nations, subject to his empire, the Rugians, the Heruli, the Thuringians, the Franks, the Burgundians, were extended, on either hand, over the ample space of the Catalaunian fields; the right wing was commanded by Ardaric, king of the Gepidæ; and the three valiant brothers, who reigned over the Oftrogoths, were posted on the left to oppose the kindred tribes of the Visigoths. The disposition of the allies was regulated by a different principle. Sangiban, the faithful king of the Alani, was placed in the centre; where his motions might be ftrictly watched, and his treachery might be instantly punished. Ætius affumed the command of the left, and Theodoric of the right, wing; while Torismond still continued to occupy the heights which appear to have stretched on the flank, and perhaps the rear, of the Scythian army. The nations from the Volga to the Atlantic were affembled on the plain of Châlons; but many of these nations had been divided by faction, or conquest, or emigration; and the appearance of fimilar arms and enfigns, which threatened each other, presented the image of a civil war.

The discipline and tactics of the Greeks and Battle of Romans form an interesting part of their national Châlons, manners. The attentive study of the military operations of Xenophon, or Cæsar, or Frederic, when they are described by the same genius which conceived and executed them, may tend to improve (if fuch improvement can be wished) the art of destroying the human species. But the battle of Châlons can only excite our curiofity, by the magnitude of the object; fince it was decided by the blind impetuofity of Barbarians, and has been related by partial writers, whose civil or ecclesiastical profession secluded them from the knowledge of military affairs. Caffiodorius, however, had familiarly converfed with many Gothic warriors, who served in that memorable engagement; "a conflict," as they informed him, " fierce, various, obstinate, and bloody; such as " could not be paralleled, either in the prefent, " or past ages." The number of the slain amounted to one hundred and fixty-two thousand, or, according to another account, three hundred thousand persons (44); and these incredible exaggerations suppose a real and effective loss, sufficie ent to justify the historian's remark, that whole generations may be swept away, by the madness of kings, in the space of a single hour. After the mutual and repeated discharge of missile weapons, in which the archers of Scythia might fignalize

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The expressions of Jornandes, or rather of Cassiodorius, are extremely strong. Bellum atrox, multiplex, immane, pertinax, cui simili nulla usquam narrat antiquitas: ubi talia gesta referuntur, ut nihil esset quod in vita sua conspicere potussiet egregius, qui hujus miraculi privaretur aspectu. Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 392, 393.) attempts to reconcile the 162,000 of Jornandes, with the 300,000 of Idations and Isidore; by supposing; that the larger number included the total destruction of the war, the effects of disease, the saughter of unarmed people, &c.

nalize their fuperior dexterity, the cavalry and infantry of the two armies were furiously mingled in closer combat. The Huns, who fought under the eyes of their king, pierced through the feeble and doubtful centre of the allies, separated their wings from each other, and wheeling, with a rapid effort, to the left, directed their whole force against the Visigoths. As Theodoric rode along the ranks, to animate his troops, he received a mortal stroke from the javelin of Andages, a noble Offrogoth, and immediately fell from his horse. The wounded king was oppressed in the general disorder, and trampled under the feet of his own cavalry; and this important death ferved to explain the ambiguous prophecy of the Haruspices. Attila already exulted in the confidence of victory, when the valiant Torismond descended from the hills, and verified the remainder of The Vifigoths, who had been the prediction. thrown into confusion by the flight, or defection, of the Alani, gradually restored their order of battle; and the Huns were undoubtedly vanquished, fince Attila was compelled to retreat. He had exposed his person with the rashness of a private foldier; but the intrepid troops of the centre had pushed forwards beyond the rest of the line; their attack was faintly supported; their flanks were unguarded; and the conquerors of Scythia and Germany were faved by the approach of the night from a total defeat. They retired within the circle of waggons that fortified their camp; and the difmounted fquadrons prepared themselves for a defence, to which neither their arms, nor their temper, were adapted. The event was doubtful: but Attila had secured a last and honourable resource. The saddles and rich furniture of the cavalry were collected, by his order. Barbarian had refolved, if his intrenchments should be forced, to rush headlong into the slames, and to deprive his enemies of the glory which they might have acquired, by the death or

captivity of Attila (45).

But his enemies had passed the night in equal Retreat of disorder and anxiety. The inconsiderate courage Attila. of Torismond was tempted to urge the pursuit, till he unexpectedly found himself, with a few followers, in the midst of the Scythian waggons. In the confusion of a nocturnal combat, he was thrown from his horse; and the Gothic prince must have perished like his father, if his youthful strength, and the intrepid zeal of his companions, had not rescued him from this dangerous situation. In the same manner, but on the left of the line, Ætius himself, separated from his allies, ignorant of their victory, and anxious for their fate, encountered and escaped the hostile troops, that were scattered over the plains of Châlons; and at length reached the camp of the Goths, which he could only fortify with a flight rampart of shields, till the dawn of day. The Imperial general was foon fatisfied of the defeat of Attila, who still remained inactive within his intrenchments; and when he contemplated the bloody scene, he observed, with secret satisfaction, that the loss had principally fallen on the Barbarians. The body of Theodoric, pierced with honourable wounds, was discovered under a heap of the flain: his subjects bewailed the death of their

⁽⁴⁵⁾ The count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. vii. p. 554—573.), still depending on the false, and again rejecting the true Idatus, has divided the defeat of Attila into two great battles; the former near Orleans, the latter in Champagne: in the one, Theodoric was slan; in the other, he was revenged.

king and father; but their tears were mingled with fongs and acclamations, and his funeral rites were performed in the face of a vanquished ene-The Goths, clashing their arms, elevated on a buckler his eldeft fon Torifmond, to whom they justly ascribed the glory of their success; and the new king accepted the obligation of revenge, as a facred portion of his paternal inheritance. Yet the Goths themselves were assonished by the fierce and undaunted aspect of their formidable antagonift; and their historian has compared Attila to a lion encompassed in his den, and threatening his hunters with redoubled fury. The kings and nations, who might have deferted his standard in the hour of distress, were made senfible, that the displeasure of their monarch was the most imminent and inevitable danger. his instruments of martial music incessantly founded a loud and animating strain of defiance; and the foremost troops who advanced to the affault, were checked, or deftroyed, by showers of arrows from every fide of the intrenchments. was determined in a general council of war, to beliege the king of the Huns in his camp, to intercept his provisions, and to reduce him to the alternative of a difgraceful treaty, or an unequal combat. But the impatience of the Barbarians foon disdained these cautious and dilatory meafures: and the mature policy of Ætius was apprehensive, that, after the extirpation of the riuns, the republic would be oppressed by the pride and power of the Gothic nation. The patrician exerted the superior ascendant of authority and reason, to calm the passions, which the son of Theodoric confidered as a duty; represented, with feeming affection, and real truth, the dangers of absence and delay; and persuaded Torismond

mond to disappoint, by his speedy return, the ambitious defigns of his brothers, who might occupy the throne and treasure of Thoulouse (46). After the departure of the Goths, and the separation of the allied army, Attila was surprised at the vast filence that reigned over the plains of Châlons: the suspicion of some hostile stratagem detained him feveral days within the circle of his waggons; and his retreat beyond the Rhine confessed the last victory which was atchieved in the name of the Western empire. Meroveus and his Franks, observing a prudent distance, and magnifying the opinion of their strength, by the numerous fires which they kindled every night, continued to follow the rear of the Huns, till they reached the confines of Thuringia. The Thuringians ferved in the army of Attila: they traversed, both in their march and in their return, the territories of the Franks; and it was perhaps in this war that they exercised the cruelties, which, about fourscore years afterwards, were revenged by the fon of Clovis. They maffacred their hoftages, as well as their captives: two hundred young maidens were tortured with exquifite and unrelenting rage; their bodies were torn afunder by wild horses, or their bones were crushed under the weight of rolling waggons; and their unburied limbs were abandoned on the public roads, as a prey to dogs and vultures. Such were those favage

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Jornandes de Rebus Geticis, c. 41. p. 671. The policy of Ætius, and the behaviour of Torifinond, are extremely natural; and the patrician, according to Gregory of Tours, (I. ii. c. 7. p. 163.), dismissed the prince of the Franks, by suggesting to him a similar apprehension. The falte Idatius ridiculously pretends, that Ætius paid a clandestine, nocturnal, visit to the kings of the Huns and of the Visigoths; stom each of whom he obtained a bribe of ten thousand pieces of gold, as the price of an undisturbed retreat.

Attila,

favage ancestors, whose imaginary virtues have fometimes excited the praise and envy of civilized

ages (47)!

Neither the spirit, nor the forces, nor the repu-Invation of tation, of Attila, were impaired by the failure of Italy, by the Gallic expedition. In the enfuing fpring, he A. D. 452. repeated his demand, of the princess Honoria, and her patrimonial treasures. The demand was again rejected, or eluded; and the indignant lover immediately took the field, passed the Alps, invaded Italy, and befreged Aquileia with an innumerable host of Barbarians. Those Barbarians were unskilled in the methods of conducting a regular fiege, which, even among the ancients, required some knowledge, or at least some practice, of the mechanic arts. But the labour of many thousand provincials and captives, whose lives were facrificed without pity, might execute the most painful and dangerous work. The skill of the Roman artists might be corrupted to the destruction of their country. The walls of Aquileia were affaulted by a formidable train of battering rams, moveable turrets, and engines, that threw stones, darts, and fire (48); and the mo-

> (47) These cruelties, which are passionately deplored by Theodoric the fon of Clovis (Gregory of Tours, l. iii. c. 10. p. 190.), fuit the time and circumstances of the invasion of Attila. His refidence in Thuringia was long attested by popular tradition; and he is supposed to have affembled a couroultai, or diet, in the territory of Eisenach. See Mascou, ix. 30. who settles with nice accuracy the extent of ancient Thuringia, and derives its name from the Gothic tribe of the Thervingi.

narch

(48) Machinis constructis, omnibusque tormentorum generibus adhibitis. Jornandes, c. 42. p. 673. In the thirteenth century, the Moguls battered the cities of Chiha with large engines, con-Arusted by the Mahometans or Christians in their service, which threw stones from 150 to 300 pounds weight. In the defence of their country, the Chinese used gunpowder, and even bombs, above an hundred years before they were known in Europe; yet even those celestial, or infernal, arms were insufficient to protect a pufillanimous nation. See Gaubil. Hitt. des Mongous, p. 70, 71. 155. 157, &cc.

narch of the Huns employed the forcible impulse of hope, fear, emulation, and interest, to subvert the only barrier which delayed the conquest of Italy. Aquileia was at that period one of the richeft, the most populous, and the strongest of the maritime cities of the Hadriatic coast. The Gothic auxiliaries, who appear to have ferved under their native princes Alaric and Antala, communicated their intrepid spirit; and the citizens still remembered the glorious and fuccessful refiftance, which their ancestors had opposed to a Serce, inexorable Barbarian, who difgraced the majesty of the Roman purple. Three months were confumed without effect in the fiege of Aquileia; till the want of provisions, and the clamours of his army, compelled Attila to relinquish the enterprise; and reluctantly to iffue his orders, that the troops should strike their tents the next morning, and begin their retreat: as he rode round the walls, penfive, angry, and disappointed, he observed a stork, preparing to leave her neft, in one of the towers, and to fly with her infant family towards the country. He seized, with the ready penetration of a statesman, this trifling incident, which chance had offered to superstition; and exclaimed, in a loud and cheerful tone, that fuch a domestic bird, fo conftantly attached to human fociety, would never have abondoned her ancient feats, unless those towers had been devoted to impending ruin and folitude (49). The favourable omen inspired an affurance of victory; the fiege was renewed, and profecuted with fresh vigour; a large breach

⁽⁴⁹⁾ The same story is told by Jornandes, and by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. 4. p. 187, 188.): nor is it easy to decide, which is the original. But the Greek historian is guilty of an inexcuseable mistake, in placing the siege of Aquileia after the death of Ætius.

was made in the part of the wall from whence the flork had taken her flight; the Huns mounted to the affault with irrelifible fury; and the fucceeding generation could scarcely discover the ruins of Aquileia (50). After this dreadful chaftisement, Attila pursued his march; and as he paffed, the cities of Altinum, Concordia, and Padua, were reduced into heaps of stones and The inland towns, Vicenza, Verona, and Bergamo, were exposed to the rapacious couelty of the Huns. Milan and Pavia submitted, without refistance, to the loss of their wealth; and applauded the unufual clemency, which preferved from the flames the public, as well as private, buildings; and spared the lives of the captive multitude. The popular traditions of Comum. Turin, or Modena, may justly be suspected; yet they concur with more authentic evidence to prove, that Attila spread his ravages over the rich plains of modern Lombardy; which are divided by the Po, and bounded by the Alps and Apennine (51). When he took possession of the royal palace of Milan, he was surprised, and offended, at the fight of a picture, which reprefented the Cæfars seated on their throne, and the princes of Scythia prostrate at their feet. The revenge which Attila inflicted on this monument of

(50) Jornandes, about an hundred years afterwards, affirms, that Aquileia was so completely ruined, ita ut vix ejus vestigia, ut appareant, reliquerint. See Jornandes de Reb. Geticis, c. 42. p. 673. Paul. Diacon. l. ii. c. 14. p. 785. Liutprand Hitt. l. iii. c. 2. The name of Aquileia was sometimes applied to Forum Julii (Cividad del Friuli), the more recent capital of the Venetian province.

(51) In describing this war of Attila, a war so famous, but so impertectly known, I have taken for my guides two learned Italians, who considered the subject with some peculiar advantages; Sigonius, de Imperio Occidentali, I. viii. in his works tom. i. p. 495—502.; and Muratori, Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 229—236,

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of Roman vanity, was harmless and ingenious. He commanded a painter to reverse the figures, and the attitudes; and the emperors were delineated on the same canvass, approaching in a suppliant posture to empty their bags of tributary gold before the throne of the Scythian monarch (52). The spectators must have confessed the truth and propriety of the alteration; and were perhaps tempted to apply, on this singular occasion, the well-known sable of the dispute between the lion and the man (53).

It is a faying worthy of the ferocious pride of FoundatiAttila, that the grass never grew on the spot republic of
where his horse had trod. Yet the savage de-Venice.
stroyer undesignedly laid the foundations of a republic, which revived, in the seudal state of Europe, the art and spirit of commercial industry.
The celebrated name of Venice, or Venetia (54),
was formerly diffused over a large and fertile province of Italy, from the confines of Pannonia to
the river Addua, and from the Po to the Rhætian
and Julian Alps. Before the irruption of the
Barbarians.

(52) This anecdote may be found under two different articles (seldioharor and xoguxes) of the miscellaneous compilation of Suidas.

(53) Leo respondit, humana hoc pictum manû : Videres hominem dejectum, si pingere Leones scirent.

Appendix ad Phædrum, Fab. xxv.

The lion in Phædrus very foolishly appeals from pictures to the amphitheatre: and I am glad to observe, that the native taste of La Fontaine (l. iii. fable x.) has omitted this most lame and impotent conclusion.

(54) Paul the Deacon (de Gestis Langobard. 1. ii. c. 14. p. 784.) describes the provinces of Italy about the end of the eighth century. Venetia non solum in paucis insulis quas none Venetias dicimus, constant; sed ejus terminus a Pannon æ simbus usque Addusm sluvium protelatur. The history of that p ownce till the age of Charlemagne forms the first and most interesting part of the Verona Illustrata (p. 1-388.), in which the marquis Scipio Massei has shewn himself equally capable of enlarged views and minute disquisitions.

Barbarians, fifty Venetian cities flourished in peace and prosperity: Aquileia was placed in the most conspicuous station: but the ancient dignity of Padua was supported by agriculture and manufactures; and the property of five hundred citizens, who were entitled to the equestrian rank, must have amounted, at the strictest computation, to one million feven hundred thousand pounds. Many families of Aquileia, Padua, and the adjacent towns, who fled from the sword of the Huns, found a fafe, though obscure, refuge in the neighbouring islands (55). At the extremity of the Gulf, where the Hadriatic feebly imitates the tides of the ocean, near an hundred small islands are separated by shallow water from the continent, and protected from the waves by feveral long flips of land, which admit the entrance of veffels through some secret and narrow channels (56). Till the middle of the fifth century, these remote and sequestered spots remained without cultivation, with few inhabitants, and almost without a name. But the manners of the Venetian fugitives, their arts and their government, were gradually formed by their new fituation; and one of the epiftles of Cassiodorius (57), which describes

(56) The topography and antiquities of the Venetian islands, from Gradus to Clodia, or Chioggia, are accurately stated in the Differtatio Chorographica de Italia Medii Ævi, p. 151—155.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ This emigration is not attested by any contemporary evidence; but the fact is proved by the event, and the circumstances might be preserved by tradition. The citizens of Aquileia retired to the Isle of Gradus, those of Padua to Rivus Altus, or Rialto, where the city of Venice was afterwards built, &c.

⁽⁵⁷⁾ Cassindor. Variar. I. xii. epist. 24. Massei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 240—254.) has translated and explained this curious setter, in the spirit of a learned antiquarian and a faithful subject, who considered Venice as the only legitimate offspring of the Roman republic. He fixes the date of the epistle, and consequently the præsecture, of Cassindorius, A. D. 523; and the marquis's

describes their condition about seventy years afterwards, may be confidered as the primitive monument of the republic. The minister of Theodoric compares them, in his quaint declamatory flyle, to water-fowl, who had fixed their nefts on the bosom of the waves; and though he allows, that the Venetian provinces had formerly contained many noble families, he infinuates, that they were now reduced by misfortune to the fame level of humble poverty. Fish was the common, and almost the universal, food of every rank: their only treasure consisted in the plenty of falt, which they extracted from the fea: and the exchange of that commodity, fo effential to human life, was substituted in the neighbouring markets to the currency of gold and filver. A people, whose habitations might be doubtfully assigned to the earth or water, soon became alike familiar with the two elements; and the demands of avarice succeeded to those of necessity. islanders, who, from Grado to Chiozza, were intimately connected with each other, penetrated into the heart of Italy, by the secure, though laborious, navigation of the rivers and inland ca-Their veffels, which were continually increafing in fize and number, vifited all the harbours of the Gulf; and the marriage, which Venice annually celebrates with the Hadriatic, was contracted in her early infancy. The epiftle of Cassiodorius, the Prætorian præfect, is addressed to the maritime tribunes: and he exhorts them, in a mild tone of authority, to animate the zeal of their countrymen for the public fer-Vol. VI.-F

marquis's authority has the more weight, as he had prepared an edition of his works, and actually published a Differnation on the true orthography of his name. See Offernazioni Letterarie, tomaii, p. 290-339.

vice, which required their affiftance to transport the magazines of wine and oil from the province of Istria to the royal city of Ravenna. The ambiguous office of these magistrates is explained by the tradition, that, in the twelve principal islands, twelve tribunes, or judges, were created by an annual and popular election. The existence of the Venetian republic under the Gothic kingdom of Italy, is attested by the same authentic record, which annihilates their lofty claim of original and perpetual indepence (58).

Attila to the Romans.

The Italians, who had long fince renounced gives peace the exercise of arms, were surprised, after forty years peace, by the approach of a formidable Barbarian, whom they abhorred, as the enemy of their religion, as well as of their republic. Amidst the general consternation, Ætius alone was incapable of fear; but it was impossible that he should atchieve, alone, and unaffisted, any military exploits worthy of his former renown. The Barbarians who had defended Gaul, refused to march to the relief of Italy; and the succours promised by the Eastern emperor were distant and doubtful. Since Ætius, at the head of his domestic troops, still maintained the field, and haraffed or retarded the march of Attila, he never shewed himself more truly great, than at the time when his conduct was blamed by an ignorant and ungrateful people (59). If the mind of Valentinian

⁽⁵⁸⁾ See, in the fecond volume of Amelot de la Houssaie Histoire du Gouvernement de Venise, a translation of the famous Squittinio This book, which has been exalted far above its merits, is stained, in every line, with the difingenuous malevolence of party: but the principal evidence, genuine and apocryphical, is brought together, and the reader will eafily chuse the fair medium.

⁽⁵⁹⁾ Sirmond (Not. ad Sidon. Apollin. p. 19.) has published a curious passage from the Chronicle of Prosper. Attila redinte-

Valentinian had been susceptible of any generous fentiments, he would have chosen such a general for his example and his guide. But the timid grandson of Theodosius, instead of sharing the dangers, escaped from the found of war; and his hafty retreat from Ravenna to Rome, from an impregnable fortress to an open capital, betrayed his fecret intention of abandoning Italy, as foon as the danger should approach his Imperial person. This shameful abdication was suspended, however, by the spirit of doubt and delay, which commonly adheres to pufillanimous counfels, and fometimes corrects their pernicious tendency. The Western emperor, with the senate and people of Rome, embraced the more falutary refolution of deprecating, by a folemn and suppliant embassy, the wrath of Attila. This important commission was accepted by Avienus, who, from his birth and riches, his confular dignity, the numerous train of his clients, and his personal abilities, held the first rank in the Roman senate. The specious and artful character of Avienus (60), was admirably qualified to conduct a negociation, either of public or private interest: his colleague Trigetius had exercised the Prætorian præfecture of Italy; and Leo, bishop of Rome, consented to expose his life for the safety of his flock. The genius

gratis viribus, quas in Gallia amiserat, Italiam ingredi per Pannonias intendit; nihil duce nostro Ætio secundum prioris belli opera prospiciente, &c. He reproaches Ætius with neglecting to guard the Alps, and with a design to abandon Italy: but this rash censure may at least be counterbalanced by the favourable testimonies of Idatius and Isidore.

(60) See the original portraits of Avienus, and his rival Basilius, delineated and contrasted in the epistles (i. 9. p. 22) of Sidonius. He had studied the characters of the two chiefs of the senate; but he attached himself to Basilius, as the more solid and

difinterested friend.

genius of Leo (61) was exercifed and displayed in the public misfortunes; and he has deferved the app-llation of Great, by the successful zeal, with which he laboured to establish his opinions, and his authority, under the venerable names of orthodox faith, and ecclefiaftical discipline. The Roman ambaffadors were introduced to the tent of Attila, as he lay encamped at the place where the flow-winding Mincius is loft in the foaming waves of the lake Benacus (62), and trampled with his Scythian cavalry the farms of Catullus and Virgil (63). The Barbarian monarch liftened with favourable, and even respectful, attention; and the deliverance of Italy was purchased by the immense ransom, or dowry, of the princess Honoria. The state of his army might facilitate the treaty, and hasten his retreat. Their martial spirit was relaxed by the wealth and indolence of a warm climate. The shepherds of the North, whose ordinary food consisted of milk and raw flesh, indulged themselves too freely in the use of bread, of wine, and of meat, prepared

(61) The character and principles of Leo, may be traced in one hundred and forty one original epistles, which illustrate the eccle-fishical history of his long and busy pontificate, from A. D. 440, to 461. See Dupin, Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique, tom. iii. part ii. p. 120—165.

(62) - tardis ingens ubi flexibus errat
Mincius, et tenera prætexit arundine ripas

Anne lacus tantos, te Lari maxime, teque Fiuctibus, et fremitu assurgens Benace marino.

(63) The Marquis Maffei (Verona Illustrata, part i. p. 95. 129. 221. part ii. p. ii. 6.) has illustrated with taste and learning this interesting topography. He places the interview of Attila and St. Leo near Ariolica, or Ardelica, now Peschiera, at the conflux of the lake and river; ascertains the villa of Catullus, in the delightful peninsula of Sarmio, and discovers the Andes of Virgil, in the village of Bandes, precisely situate, quâ se subducere colles incipiunt, where the Veronese hills imperceptibly slope down into the plain of Mantua.

pared and seasoned by the arts of cookery; and the progress of disease revenged in some measure the injuries of the Italians (64). When Attila declared his resolution of carrying his victorious arms to the gates of Rome, he was admonished by his friends, as well as by his enemies, that Alaric had not long furvived the conquest of the eternal city. His mind, superior to real danger, was affaulted by imaginary terrors; nor could he escape the influence of superstition, which had so often been subservient to his designs (65). The pressing eloquence of Leo, his majestic aspect, and facerdotal robes, excited the veneration of Attila for the spiritual father of the Christians. The apparition of the two apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, who menaced the Barbarian with instant death, if he rejected the prayer of their fuccesfor, is one of the noblest legends of ecclefiattical tradition. The fafety of Rome might deferve the interpolition of celestial beings; and fome indulgence is due to a fable, which has been represented by the pencil of Raphael, and the chiffel of Algardi (66).

Before

(64) Si statim infesto agmine urbem petiissent, grande discrimen esset: sed in Venetia quo fere tractu Italia mollissima est, ipsa soli cœlique clementia robur elanguit. Adhoc panis usu carnisque coctæ, et dulcedine vini mitigatos, &c. This passage of Florus (iii. 3.) is still more applicable to the Huns than to the Cimbri, and it may serve as a commentary on the celestial plague, with which Idatius and Isidore have afflicted the troops of Attila.

(65) The historian Priscus had positively mentioned the effect which this example produced on the mind of Attila. Jornandes,

(66) The picture of Raphael is in the Vatican; the basso (or perhaps the alto) relievo of Algardi, on one of the altars of St. Peter's (see Dubos, Reslexions sur la Poesse et sur la Peinture, tom. i. p. 519, 520.). Baronius (Annal. Eccles. A. D. 452. No. 57, 58.) bravely sustains the truth of the apparition; which is rejected, however, by the most learned and pious Catholics.

Before the king of the Huns evacuated Italy, The death of Attila, he threatened to return more dreadful, and more A. D. 453 implacable, if his bride, the princess Honoria, were not delivered to his ambaffadors within the term stipulated by the treaty. Yet, in the mean while, Attila relieved his tender anxiety, by adding a beautiful maid, whose name was Ildico, to the lift of his innumerable wives (67). Their marriage was celebrated with barbaric pomp and festivity, at his wooden palace beyond the Danube; and the monarch, oppressed with wine and fleep, retired, at a late hour, from the banquet to the nuptial bed. His attendants continued to respect his pleasures, or his repose, to the greateft part of the enfuing day, till the unufual filence alarmed their fears and suspicions; and, after attempting to awaken Attila by loud and repeated cries, they at length broke into the royal apart-They found the trembling bride fitting by the bedfide, hiding her face with her veil, and lamenting her own danger, as well as the death of the king, who had expired during the night (68).

(67) Attila, ut Priscus historicus refert, extinctionis sue tempore, puellam Ildico nomine, decoram valde, sibi matrimonium post innumerabiles uxores ... socians. Jornandes, c. 49. p. 683, 684. He afterwards adds (c. 50. p. 686.), Filii Attilæ, quorum per licentiam libidinis pœne populus suit. Polygamy has been established among the Tartars of every age. The rank of plebeian wives is regulated only by their personal charms; and the saded matron prepares, without a murmur, the bed which is destined for her blooming rival. But in royal families, the daughters of Khans communicate to their sons a prior right of inheritance. See Genealogical History, p. 406. 407, 408.

See Genealogical History, p. 406. 407, 408.

(68) The report of her guilt reached Constantinople, where it obtained a very different name; and Marcellinus observes, that the tyrant of Europe was slain in the night by the hand, and the knife, of a woman. Corneille, who has adapted the genuine account to his tragedy, describes the irruption of blood in forty bombast lines, and Attila exclaims, with ridiculous fury,

(Dit-il) on me payera ce qui m'en va couter.

An artery had fuddenly burst; and as Att la lay in a supine posture, he was suffocated by a torrent of blood, which, instead of finding a pasfage through the nostrils, regurgitated into the lungs and stomach. His body was solemnly exposed in the midst of the plain, under a filken pavilion; and the chosen squadrons of the Huns, wheeling round in measured evolutions, chaunted a funeral fong to the memory of a hero, glorious in his life, invincible in his death, the father of his people, the scourge of his enemies, and the terror of the world. According to their national custom, the Barbarians cut off a part of their hair, gashed their faces with unseemly wounds, and bewailed their valiant leader as he deserved, not with the tears of women, but with the blood of warriors. The remains of Attila were inclosed within three coffins, of gold, of filver, and of iron, and privately buried in the night: the spoils of nations were thrown into his grave; the captives who had opened the ground were inhumanly maffacred; and the fame Huns, who had indulged fuch excessive grief, feasted, with diffolute and intemperate mirth, about the recent sepulchre of their king. It was reported at Constantinople, that on the fortunate night in which he expired, Marcian beheld in a dream the bow of Attila broken afunder: and the report may be allowed to prove, how feldom the image of that formidable Barbarian was absent from the mind of a Roman emperor (69).

The

⁽⁶⁹⁾ The curious circumstances of the death and funeral of Attila, are related by Jornandes (c. 49, p. 683, 684, 685.), and were probably transcribed from Priscus.

Destruction of his empire.

The revolution which subverted the empire of the Huns, established the fame of Attila, whose genius alone had fuftained the huge and disjointed fabric. After his death, the boldest chieftains aspired to the rank of kings; the most powerful kings refused to acknowledge a superior; and the numerous fons, whom fo many various mothers bore to the deceased monarch, divided and disputed, like a private inheritance, the fovereign command of the nations of Germany and Scythia. The bold Ardaric felt and represented the difgrace of this servile partition; and his subjects, the warlike Gepidæ, with the Oftrogoths, under the conduct of three valuant brothers, encouraged their allies to vindicate the rights of freedom and royalty. In a bloody and decifive conflict on the banks of the river Netad, in Pannonia, the lance of the Gepidæ, the sword of the Goths, the arrows of the Huns, the Suevic infantry, the light arms of the Heruli, and the heavy weapons of the Alani, encountered or supported each other; and the victory of Ardaric was accompanied with the flaughter of thirty thousand of his enemies. Ellac, the eldest son of Attila, lost his life and crown in the memorable battle of Netad: his early valour had raised him to the throne of the Acatzires, a Scythian people, whom he subdued; and his father, who loved the superior merit, would have envied the death, of Ellac (70). His

⁽⁷⁰⁾ See Jornandes, de Rebus Geticis, c. 50. p. 685, 686, 687, 688. His diffinction of the national arms is curious and important. Nam ibi admirandum reor fuiffe spectaculum, ubi cernere erat cunctis, pugnantem Gothum ense furentem, Gepidam in vulnere suorum cuncta tela frangentem. Suevum pede, Hunnum sagitta præsumere, Alanum gravi, Herulum levi, armatura, aciem instrucre. I am not precisely informed of the situation of the river Netad.

His brother Dengifich, with an army of Huns, still formidable in their flight and ruin, maintained his ground above fifteen years on the banks of the Danube. The palace of Attila, with the old country of Dacia, from the Carpathian hills to the Euxine, became the feat of a new power, which was erected by Arcadic, king of the Ge-The Pannonian conquests, from Vienna to Sirmium, were occupied by the Oftrogoths; and the fettlements of the tribes, who had fo bravely afferted their native freedom, were irregularly distributed, according to the measure of their respective strength. Surrounded and oppressed by the multitude of his father's slaves, the kingdom of Dengisich was confined to the circle of his waggons; his desperate courage urged him to invade the Eastern empire; he fell in battle; and his head, ignominiously exposed in the Hippodrome, exhibited a grateful spectacle to the people of Constantinople. Attila had fondly or superstitiously believed, that Irnac, the youngest of his fons, was destined to perpetuate the glories of his race. The character of that prince, who attempted to moderate the rashness of his brother Dengisich, was more suitable to the declining condition of the Huns; and Irnac, with his fubject hords, retired into the heart of the Leffer Scythia. They were foon overwhelmed by a torrent of new Barbarians, who followed the same road which their own ancestors had for-The Geougen, or Avares, merly discovered. whose residence is assigned by the Greek writers to the shores of the ocean, impelled the adjacent tribes; till at length the Igours of the North, issuing from the cold Siberian regions, which produce the most valuable furs, spread themselves over the desert, as far as the Boristhenes and the Caspian Valentini-

Caspian gates; and finally extinguished the em-

Such an event might contribute to the fafety

pire of the Huns (71).

an murders of the Eastern empire, under the reign of a an Ætius, prince, who conciliated the friendthip, without A. D. 454 forfeiting the efteem, of the Barbarians. But the emperor of the West, the feeble and dissolute Valentinian, who had reached his thirty-fifth year, without attaining the age of reason or courage, abused his apparent security, to undermine the foundations of his cwn throne, by the murder of the patrician Ætius From the instinct of a base and jealous mind, he hated the man, who was universally celebrated as the terror of the Barbarians, and the support of the republic; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, awakened the emperor from the fupine lethargy, which might be disguised, during the life of Placidia (72), by he excuse of filial piety. The same of Ætius, his wealth and dignity, the numerous and martial train of Barbarian followers, his powerful dependents, who filled the civil offices of the state, and the hopes of his fon Gaudentius, who was already contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter, had raifed him above the rank

(71) Two modern historians have thrown much new light on the ruin and division of the empire of Attila. M. de Buat, by his laborious and minute diligence (tom. viii. p. 3-31.68-94); and M. de Guignes, by his extraordinary knowledge of the Chinese language and writers. See Hist. des Huns, tom. ii. p. 315

of a subject. The ambitious designs, of which he was secretly accused, excited the sears, as

-319.

⁽⁷²⁾ Placidia died at Rome, November 27, A. D. 450. She was buried at Ravenna, where her sepulchre, and even her corpse, seated in a chair of cypress wood, were preserved for ages. The empress received many compliments from the orthodox clergy; and St. Peter Chrysologus assured her, that her zeal for the Trinity had been recompensed by an august trinity of children. See Tillemont, Hist. des Emp. tom. vi. p. 2400

well as the resentment, of Valentinian. Ætius himself, supported by the consciousness of his merit, his fervices, and perhaps his innocence, feems to have maintained a haughty and indifcreet behaviour. The patrician offended his fovereign by an hostile declaration; he aggravated the offence, by compelling him to ratify, with a folemn oath, a treaty of reconciliation and alliance; he proclaimed his fuspicions; he neglected his fafety; and from a vain confidence that the enemy, whom he despised, was incapable even of a manly crime, he rashly ventured his person in the palace of Rome. Whilft he urged, perhaps with in emperate vehemence, the marriage of his fon; Valentinian, drawing his fword, the first sword he had ever drawn, plunged it in the breast of a general who had faved his empire: his courtiers and eunuchs ambitiously struggled to imitate their mafter; and Ætius, pierced with an hundred wounds, fell dead in the royal presence. Boethius, the Prætorian præfect, was killed at the same moment; and before the event could be divulged, the principal friends of the patrician were summoned to the palace, and separately murdered. The horrid deed, palliated by the specious names of justice and necessity, was immediately communicated by the emperor to his foldiers, his subjects, and his allies. nations, who were strangers or enemies to Ætius, generously deplored the unworthy fate of a hero: the Barbarians, who had been attached to his fervice, dissembled their grief and resentment; and the public contempt, which had been fo long entertained for Valentinian, was at once converted into deep and universal abhorrence. Such fentiments feldom pervade the walls of a palace; yet the emperor was confounded by the honest reply mus,

of a Roman, whose approbation he had not disdained to folicit. " I am ignorant, Sir, of your " motives or provocations; I only know, that " you have acted like a man who cuts off his

right hand with his left (73)."

and ravish-The luxury of Rome feems to have attracted es the wife the long and frequent visits of Valentinian; who was confequently more despised at Rome than in any other part of his dominions. A republican spirit was insensibly revived in the senate, as their authority, and even their supplies, became neceffary for the support of his feeble government. The stately demeanour of an hereditary monarch offended their pride; and the pleasures of Valentinian were injurious to the peace and honour of noble families. The birth of the empress Endoxia was equal to his own, and her charms and tender affection deserved those testimonies of love, which her inconstant husband dissipated in vague and unlawful amours. Petronius Maximus, a wealthy fenator of the Anician family, who had been twice conful, was possessed of a chaste and beautiful wife: her obstinate resistance served only to irritate the defires of Valentinian; and he resolved to accomplish them either by stratagem or force. Deep gaming was one of the vices of the court: the emperor, who, by chance or contrivance, had gained from Maximus a confiderable fum, uncourteously exacted his ring as a fecurity for the debt; and fent it by a trufty messenger to his wife, with an order, in her husband's

⁽⁷³⁾ Actium Placidus mactavit semivir amens, is the expressien of Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 359.). The poet knew the world, and was not inclined to flatter a minister who had injured or difgraced Avitus and Majorian, the successive heroes of his fong.

band's name, that she should immediately attend the Empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting wife of Maximus was conveyed in her litter to the Imperial palace; the emissaries of her impatient lover conducted her to a remote and filent bed-chamber; and Valentinian violated, without remorfe, the laws of hospitality. Her tears, when she returned home; her deep affliction; and her bitter reproaches against a husband, whom she considered as the accomplice of his own shame, excited Maximus to a just revenge; the defire of revenge was stimulated by ambition; and he might reasonabla aspire, by the free suffrage of the Roman senate, to the throne of a detested and despicable rival. Valentinian, who supposed that every human breast was devoid, like his own, of friendship and gratitude, had imprudently admitted among his guards feveral domestics and followers of Ætius. Two of these, of Barbarian race, were perfuaded to execute a facred and honourable duty, by punishing with death the affasfin of their patron; and their intrepid courage did not long expect a favourable moment. Whilft Valentinian amused himself in the field of Mars Death of with the spectacle of some military sports, they Valentinifuddenly rushed upon him with drawn weapons, an, A. D. dispatched the guilty Heraclius, and stabbed the March 16. emperor to the heart, without the least opposition from his numerous train, who feemed to rejoice in the tyrant's death. Such was the fate of Valentinian the Third (74), the last Roman emperor of

⁽⁷⁴⁾ With regard to the cause and circumstances of the deaths of Ætius and Valentinian, our information is dark and imperfect. Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. 4. p. 186, 187, 188.) is a fabulous writer for the events which precede his own memo-

of the family of Theodosius. He faithfully imitated the hereditary weakness of his cousin and his two uncles, without inheriting the gentleness, the purity, the innocence, which alleviate in their characters the want of spirit and ability. Valentinian was less excusable, since he had passions, without virtues: even his religion was questionable; and though he never deviated into the paths of heresy, he scandalized the pious Christians by his attachment to the profane arts of magic and divination.

Symptoms of decay and ruin.

As early as the time of Cicero and Varro, it was the opinion of the Roman augurs, that the twelve vultures, which Romulus had feen, represented the twelve centuries, assigned for the fatal period of his city (75). This prophecy, disregarded perhaps in the season of health and prosperity, inspired the people with gloomy apprehensions, when the twelfth century, clouded with disgrace and missortune, was almost elapsed (76); and even posterity must acknowledge with some surprise, that the arbitrary interpretation

ry. His narrative must therefore be supplied and corrected by five or fix Chronicles, none of which were composed in Rome or Italy; and which can only express, in broken sentences, the popular rumours, as they were conveyed to Gaul, Spain, Africa, Constantinople, or Alexandria.

(75) This interpretation of Vettius, a celebrated augur, was quoted by Varro, in the xviiith book of his Antiquities. Cenfo-

rinus, de Die Natali, c. 17. p. 90, 91. edit. Havercamp.

(76) According to Varro, the twelfth century would expire A.

D. 447, but the uncertainty of the true æra of Rome might allow fome latitude of anticipation or delay. The poets of the age, Claudian (de Bell. Getico, 265.) and Sidonius (in Panegyr. Avit. 357.), may be admitted as fair witnesses of the popular opinion.

Jam reputant annos, interceptoque volatû

Vulturis, incidunt properatis fæcula metis.

Jam propre fata tui bissenas Vulturis alas Implebant; scis namque tuos, scis, Roma, labores. See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 540—346.

tion of an accidental or fabulous circumstance. has been feriously verified in the downfall of the Western empire. But its fall was announced by a clearer omen than the flight of vultures: the Roman government appeared every day less formidable to its enemies, more odious and oppreffive to its subjects (77). The taxes were multiplied with the public diffres; economy was neglected in proportion as it became necessary; and the injustice of the rich shifted the unequal burden from themselves to the people, whom they defrauded of the indulgencies that might sometimes have alleviated their mifery. The fevere inquifition, which confifcated their goods, and tortured their persons, compelled the subjects of Valentinian to prefer the more simple tyranny of the Barbarians, to fly to the woods and mountains, or to embrace the vile and abject condition of mercenary fervants. They abjured and abhorred the name of Roman citizens, which had formerly excited the ambition of mankind. The Armorican provinces of Gaul, and the greatest part of Spain, were thrown into a state of diforderly independence, by the confederations of the Bagaudæ; and the Imperial ministers pursued with profcriptive laws, and ineffectual arms, the rebels whom they had made (78). If all the Barbarian

(77) The fifth book of Salvian is filled with pathetic lamentations, and vehement invectives. His immoderate freedom ferves to prove the weakness, as well as the corruption, of the Roman government. His book was published after the loss of Africa (A. D. 439.), and before Attila's war (A. D. 451.)

(78) The Bagaudæ of Spain, who fought pitched battles with the Roman troops, are repeatedly mentioned in the Chronicle of Idatus. Salvian has described their distress and rebellion in very forcible language. Itaque nomen civium Romanorum...nuncultro repudiatur ac fugitur, nec vile tamen sed etiam abominabile

barian conquerors had been annihilated in the fame hour, their total destruction would not have restored the empire of the West: and if Rome still survived, she survived the loss of freedom, of virtue, and of honour.

CHAP.

pœne habetur. . . . Et hinc est ut etiam hi qui ad Barbaros non confugiunt, Barbari tamen esse coguntur, scilicet ut est pars magna Hispanorum, et non minima Gallorum. De Bagaudis nunc mihi sermo est, qui per malos judices et cruentos spoliati, assisti, necati potiquam jus Romanæ libertatis amiserant, etiam honorem Romani nominis perdiderunt. . . . Vocamus rebelles, vocamus perditos quos esse compulinus criminosos. De Gubernat. Dei, l. v. p. 158, 159.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Sack of Rome by Genferic, King of the Vandals.—
His Naval Depredations.—Succession of the last
Emperors of the West, Maximus, Avitus, Majorian, Severus, Anthemius, Olybrius, Glycerius, Nepos, Augustulus.—Total Extinction of
the Western Empire.—Reign of Odoacer, the
first Barbarian King of Italy.

HE loss or desolation of the provinces, Naval from the ocean to the Alps, impaired the power of glory and greatness of Rome: the internal prof-the Vanperity was irretrievably destroyed by the separa-439-455. The rapacious Vandals confiscation of Africa. ted the patrimonial estates of the senators, and intercepted the regular fubfidies, which relieved the poverty, and encouraged the idleness, of the The diffress of the Romans was soon plebeians. aggravated by an unexpected attack; and the province, fo long cultivated for their use by industrious and obedient subjects, was armed against them by an ambitious Barbarian. The Vandals and Alani, who followed the successful standard of Genseric, had acquired a rich and fertile territory, which stretched along the coast above ninety days journey from langier to Tripoli; but their narrow limits were pressed and confined, on either side, by the sandy desert and the Mediterranean. The discovery and conquest of the Black nations, that might dwell beneath the torrid zone, could not tempt the rational ambition of Genferic: but he cast his eyes towards the sea; he refolved to create a naval power, and his bold Vol. VI.-F refolution

resolution was executed with steady and active perseverance. The woods of mount Atlas afforded an inexhaustible nursery of timber; his new subjects were skilled in the arts of navigation and ship-building; he animated his daring Vandals to embrace a mode of warfare which would render every maritime country accessible to their arms; the Moors and Africans were allured by the hopes of plunder; and, after an interval of fix centuries, the fleets that iffued from the port of Carthage again claimed the empire of the Mediterranean. The fuccess of the Vandals, the conquest of Sicily, the fack of Palermo, and the frequent descents on the coast of Lucania, awakened and alarmed the mother of Valentinian, and the fifter of Theodofius. liances were formed; and armaments, expensive and ineffectual, were prepared, for the destruction of the common enemy; who referved his courage to encounter those dangers which his policy could not prevent or elude. The deligns of the Roman government were repeatedly baffled by his artful delays, ambiguous promifes, and apparent concessions; and the interposition of his formidable confederate the king of the Huns, recalled the emperors from the conquest of Africa to the care of their domestic safety. volutions of the palace, which left the Western empire without a defender, and without a lawful prince, dispelled the apprehensions, and stimulated the avarice, of Genteric. He immediately equipped a numerous fleet of Vandals and Moors. and cast anchor at the mouth of the Tyber, about three months after the death of Valentinien, and the elevation of Maximus to the Imperial throne.

The private life of the fenator Petronius Max-The chaimus (1), was often alleged as a rare example of reign of human felicity. His birth was noble and illus-the empetrious, fince he descended from the Anician sa-ror Maximily; his dignity was supported by an adequate D. 455, patrimony in land and money; and these advan-March 17. tages of fortune were accompanied with liberal arts, and decent manners, which adorn or imitate the inestimable gifts of genius and virtue. The luxury of his palace and table was hospitable and elegant. Whenever Maximus appeared in public, he was furrounded by a train of grateful and obsequious clients (2); and it is possible that among these clients, he might deserve and possess some real friends. His merit was rewarded by the favour of the prince and senate: he thrice exercised the office of Prætorian præsect of Italy; he was twice invested with the confulship, and he obtained the rank of patrician. These civil honours were not incompatible with the enjoyment of leifure and tranquillity; his hours, according to the demands of pleasure or reason, were accurately distributed by a waterclock; and this avarice of time may be allowed to prove the fense which Maximus entertained of his own happiness. The injury which he received from the emperor Valentinian, appears to excuse the most bloody revenge. Yet a philosopher might have reflected, that, if the resistance of his wife had been fincere, her chaftity was still inviolate.

(2) Clientum, prævia, pedifequa, circumfusa, populositas, is the train which Sidonius himself (1. i. epist. 9.) assigns to another senator of consular rank.

⁽¹⁾ Sidonius Apollinaris composed the thirteenth epistle of the the second book, to resute the paradox of his friend Serranus, who entertained a singular, though generous, enthusiasin for the deceased emperor. This epistle, with some induspence, may claim the praise of an elegant composition; and it throws much light on the character of Maximus.

inviolate, and that it could never be restored if she had consented to the will of the adulterer. A patriot would have hefitated, before he plunged himself and his country into those inevitable calamities, which must follow the extinction of the royal house of Theodosius. The imprudent Maximus difregarded these falutary confiderations: he gratified his refentment and ambition; he saw the bleeding corpse of Valentinian at his feet: and he heard himself saluted emperor by the unanimous voice of the fenate and people. But the day of his inauguration was the last day of his happiness. He was imprisoned (such is the lively expression of Sidonius) in the palace; and after passing a sleepless night he sighed, that he had attained the fummit of his wishes, and afpired only to descend from the dangerous elevation. Oppressed by the weight of the diadem. he communicated his anxious thoughts to his friend and quæstor Fulgentius; and when he looked back with unavailing regret on the fecure pleasures of his former life, the emperor exclaimed, "O fortunate Damocles (3), thy reign " began and ended with the same dinner:" a well-known allusion, which Fulgentius afterwards repeated as an inftructive lesson for princes and fubjects.

The reign of Maximus continued about three months. His hours, of which he had loft the command, were diffurbed by remorfe, or guilt,

O

(3) Districtus ensis cui super impia Cervice pendet, non Siculæ dapes Dulcem elaborabunt saporem: Non avium Citharæque cantus Somnum reducent.

Horat. Carm. iii. 1. Sidonius concludes his letter with the story of Damocles, which Cicero (Tutculan v. 20, 21.) had so inimitably told.

or terror, and his throne was shaken by the seditions of the foldiers, the people, and the confederate Barbarians. The marriage of his fon Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor, might tend to establish the hereditary succesfion of his family; but the violence which he offered to the empreis Eudoxia, could proceed only from the blind impulse of lust or revenge His own wife, the cause of these tragic events, had been feafonably removed by death; and the widow of Valentinian was compelled to violate her decent mourning, perhaps her real grief, and to fubmit to the embraces of a prefumptuous ufurper, whom the suspected as the affassin of her deceased husband. These suspicions were soon justified by the indifcreet confession of Maximus himself; and he wantonly provoked the hatred of his reluctant bride, who was still conscious that the descended from a line of emperors. From the East, however, Eudoxia could not hope to obtain any effectual affiftance: her father and her aunt Pulcheria were dead; her mother languithed at Jerusalem in disgrace and exile; and the sceptre of Constantinople was in the hands of a stranger. She directed her eyes towards Carthage; fecretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals; and persuaded Genseric to improve the fair opportunity of difguifing his rapacious designs by the specious names of honour, justice, and compassion (4). Whatever abilities

⁽⁴⁾ Notwithstanding the evidence of Procopius, Evagrius, Idatius, Marcellinus, &c. the learned Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 249.) doubts the reality of this invitation, and observes, with great truth, "Non si può dir quanto sia facile il "popolo a sognare e spacciar voci false." But his argument, from the interval of time and place, is extremely seeble. The sigs which grew near Carthage were produced to the senate of Rome on the third day.

abilities Maximus might have shewn in a subordinate station, he was found incapable of administering an empire; and though he might easily have been informed of the naval preparations, which were made on the opposite shores of Africa. he expected with fupine indifference the approach of the enemy, without adopting any measures of defence, of negociation, or of a timely retreat. When the Vandals difembarked at the mouth of the Tyber, the emperor was fuddenly roused from his lethargy by the clamours of a trembling and exasperated multitude. The only hope which presented itself to his astonished mind was that of a precipitate flight, and he exhorted the fenators to imitate the example of their prince. But no fooner did Maximus appear in the streets, than he was affaulted by a shower of stones: a Roman, or a Burgundian, foldier claimed the honour of the first wound; his mangled body was ignominiously cast into the Tyber; the Roman people rejoiced in the punishment which they had inflicted on the author of the public calamities; and the demeftics of Eudoxia fignalized their zeal in the fervice of their mistress (5)

On the third day after the tumult, Genseric Rome by the Vandals, gates of the defenceless city. Instead of a fally A.D. 455 of the Roman youth, there issued from the gates June 15—an unarmed and venerable procession of the bishop at the head of his clergy (6). The fearless spirit

(5) - - - Infidoque tibi Burgundio ductu Extorquet trepidas mactandi principis iras.

Sidon. in Panegyr. Avit. 442.

A remarkable line, which infinuates that Rome and Maximus were betrayed by their Burgundian mercenaries.

(6) The apparent fuccess of pope Leo may be justified by Profper, and the Historia Miscellan.; but the improbable notion of Baronius

spirit of Leo, his authority and eloquence, again mitigated the fierceness of a Barbarian conqueror: the king of the Vandals promifed to spare the unrelifting multitude, to protect the buildings from fire, and to exempt the captives from torture; and although fuch orders were neither ferioufly given, nor firictly obeyed, the mediation of Leo was glorious to himself, and in some d gree beneficial to his country. But Rome, and its inhabitants, were delivered to the licentiousness of the Vandals and Moors, whose blind passions revenged the injuries of Carthage. The pillage lasted fourteen days and nights; and all that yet remained of public or private wealth, of facred or profane treasure, was diligently transported to the vessels of Genseric. Among the spoils, the splendid relics of two temples, or rather of two religions, exhibited a memorable example of the viciflitude of human and divine things. Since the abolition of Paganism, the Capitol had been violated and abandoned; yet the statues of the gods and heroes were still respected, and the curious roof of gilt bronze was referved for the rapacious hands of Genseric (7). The holy instruments of

Baronius (A. D. 455. No. 13.), that Genferic spared the three apostolical churches, is not countenanced even by the doubtful testimony of the Liber Pontificalis.

(7) The profution of Catulus, the first who gilt the roof of the Capitol, was not universally approved (Plin. H.st. Natur. xxxiii. 18.); but it was far exceeded by the emperor's, and the external gilding of the temple cost Domitian 12,000 talents (2,400,000 l.). The expressions of Claudian and Ruthlius (luce metalli æmula . . . fastigia astris, and confunduatque vagos delubra micantia visus) manifestly prove, that this splendid covering was not removed either by the Christians or the Goths (See Donatus, Roma Antiqua, l. ii. c. 6. p. 125.). It should seem, that the roof of the Capitol was decorated with gilt statues, and chariots drawn by four horses.

the Jewish worship, (8), the gold table, and the gold candleftick with feven branches, originally framed according to the particular instructions of God himself, and which were placed in the fanctuary of his temple, had been oftentatiously difplayed to the Roman people in the triumph of Titus. They were afterwards deposited in the temple of Peace; and at the end of four hundred years, the spoils of Jerusalem were transferred from Rome to Carthage, by a Barbarian who derived his origin from the shores of the Baltic. These ancient monuments might attract the notice of curiofity, as well as of avarice. Christian churches, enriched and adorned by the prevailing superstition of the times, afforded more plentiful materials for facrilege; and the pious liberality of pope Leo, who melted fix filver vases, the gift of Constantine, each an hundred pounds weight, is an evidence of the damage which he attempted to repair. In the forty-five years, that had elapsed fince the Gothic invasion, the pomp and luxury of Rome were in some measure restored; and it was difficult either to escape, or to satisfy, the avarice of a conqueror, who possessed leifure to collect, and ships to transport, the wealth of the capital. The Imperial ornaments of the palace, the magnificent furniture and wardrobe, the fideboards of maffy plate, were accumulated with diforderly rapine: the gold and filver amounted to feveral thousand talents; yet even the brass and copper were laboriously removed. Eudoxia herself, who advanced to meet her friend and deliverer, foon bewail-

ed

⁽⁸⁾ The curious reader may consult the learned and accurate treatise of Hadrian Reland, de Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcû Titiano Romæ conspicuis, in 12mo, Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1716.

ed the imprudence of her own conduct. She was rudely stripped of her jewels; and the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, the only furviving remains of the great Theodosius, was compelled, as a captive, to follow the haughty Vandal; who immediately hoisted fail, and returned with a prosperous navigation to the port of Carthage (9). Many thousand Romans of both fexes, chosen for some useful or agreeable qualifications, reluctantly embarked on board the fleet of Genseric; and their diffress was aggravated by the unfeeling Barbarians, who, in the division of the booty, separated the wives from their hufbands, and the children from their parents. The charity of Deogratias, bishop of Carthage (10), was their only confolation and support. He generously fold the gold and filver plate of the church to purchase the freedom of some, to alleviate the flavery of others, and to affift the wants and infirmities of a captive multitude, whose health was impaired by the hardships which they had iuffered in the paffage from Italy to Africa. By his order, two spacious churches were converted into hospitals: the fick were distributed in convenient beds, and liberally supplied with food and medicines; and the aged prelate repeated his vifits both in the day and night, with an affiduity that turpaffed his ftrength, and a tender sympathy which enhanced the value

⁽⁹⁾ The veffel which transported the relics of the Capitol, was the only one of the whole fleet that suffered shipwreck. If a bigotted sophist, a Pagan bigot, had mentioned the accident, he might have rejoiced, that this cargo of sacrilege was lost in the sea.

⁽¹⁰⁾ See Victor Vetensis, de Persecut. Vandal. l. i. c. 8 p. 11, 12. edit. Ruinart. Deogratias governed the church of Carthage only three years. If he had not been privately bur ed, his corpie would have been torn piecemeal by the mad devotion of the people.

of his fervices. Compare this scene with the field of Cannæ; and judge between Hannibal and the fucceffor of St. Cyprian (11).

The empe-A. D. 455.

The deaths of Ætius and Valentinian had refor Avitus, laxed the ties which held the Barbarians of Gaul July 10th. in peace and subordination. The sea-coast was infested by the Saxons; the Alemanni and the Franks advanced from the Rhine to the Seine: and the ambition of the Goths feemed to meditate more extensive and permanent conquests. The emperor Maximus relieved himself, by a judicious choice, from the weight of these distant cares: he filenced the folicitations of his friends, liftened to the voice of fame, and promoted a stranger to the general command of the forces in Gaul. Avitus (12), the stranger, whose merit was so nobly rewarded, descended from a wealthy and honourable family in the diocese of Auvergne. The convulsions of the times urged him to embrace, with the same ardour, the civil and military professions; and the indefatigable youth blended the studies of literature and jurifprudence with the exercise of arms and hunting. Thirty years of his life were laudably spent in the public fervice; he alternately displayed his talents in war and negociation; and the foldier of Ætius, after executing the most important emballies, was raised to the station of Prætorian præsect of Gaul. Either the merit of Avitus excited

with becoming suspicion, from the panegyric pronounced by Sidonius Apollinaris, his subject, and his son-in-law.

⁽¹¹⁾ The general evidence for the death of Maximus, and the fack of Rome by the Vandals, is comprised in Sidonius (Panegyr. Avit. 441-450.), Procepius (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 4, 5. p. 188, 189, and l. ii. c. 9. p. 255.), Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.), Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 45. p. 677.), and the Chronicles of Idatius, Prosper, Marcellinus, and Theophanes, under the proper year.

(12) The private life and elevation of Avitus must be deduced,

excited envy, or his moderation was defirous of repose, fince he calmly retired to an estate, which he possessed in the neighbourhood of Clermont. A copious stream, issuing from the mountain, and falling headlong in many a loud and foaming cascade, discharged its waters into a lake about two miles in length, and the villa was pleafantly feated on the margin of the lake. The baths, the porticoes, the fummer and winter apartments. were adapted to the purposes of luxury and use; and the adjacent country afforded the various prospects of woods, pastures, and meadows (13). In this retreat, where Avitus amused his leisure with books, rural sports, the practice of husbandry, and the fociety of his friends (14), he received the Imperial diploma, which conflituted him mafter-general of the cavalry and infantry of Gaul. He assumed the military command; the Barbarians fuspended their fury; and whatever means he might employ, whatever concessions he might be forced to make, the people enjoyed the benefits of actual tranquillity. But the fate of Gaul depended on the Vifigoths; and the Roman general, less attentive to his dignity than to the public interest, did not disdain to visit Thoulouse

(13) After the example of the younger Pliny, Sidonius (l. ii. c. 2.) has laboured the florid, prolix, and obscure description of his villa, which bore the name (Avitacum), and had been the property of Avitus. The precise situation is not ascertained. Consult however the notes of Savaron and Samond.

(14) Sidonis (l. ii. epist. 9.) has described the country life of the Gallic nobies, in a visit which he made to his friends, whose estates were in the neighbourhood of Nismes. The morning-hours were spent in the sphæristerium, or tennis-court; or in the library, which was furnished with Latin authors, profane and religious; the former for the men, the latter for the ladies. The table was twice served, at dinner and at supper, with hot meat (boiled and roast) and wine. During the intermediate time, the company slept, took the air on horseback, and used the warm bath.

Thoulouse in the character of an ambassador. He was received with courteous hospitality by Theodoric, the king of the Goths; but while Avitus laid the foundations of a solid alliance with that powerful nation, he was assonished by the intelligence, that the emperor Maximus was slain, and that Rome had been pillaged by the Vandals. A vacant throne, which he might ascend without guilt or danger, tempted his ambition (15); and the Visigoths were easily persuaded to support his claim by their irresistible suffrage. They loved

A.D. 455 the person of Avitus; they respected his virtues;
August 15 and they were not insensible of the advantage, as
well as honour, of giving an emperor to the West.
The season was now approaching, in which the

The feafon was now approaching, in which the annual affembly of the feven provinces was held at Arles; their deliberations might perhaps be influenced by the presence of Theodoric, and his martial brothers; but their choice would naturally incline to the most illustrious of their countrymen. Avitus, after a decent resistance, accepted the Imperial diadem from the representatives of Gaul; and his election was ratisfied by the acclamations of the Barbarians and provincials. The formal consent of Marcian, emperor of the East, was solicited and obtained: but the senate, Rome, and Italy, though humbled by their recent calamities, submitted with a secret murmur to the presumption of the Gallic usurper.

Character Theodoric, to whom Avitus was indebted for of Theo- the purple, had acquired the Gothic sceptre by doric, king the murder of his elder brother Torismond; and Visigoths,

A. D. 453 -466.

(15) Seventy lines of panegyric (505-575.), which describe the importunity of Theodoric and of Gaul, struggling to overcome the modest reluctance of Avitus, are blown away by three words of an honest historian. Romanum ambisset Insperium (Greg. Turon. 1. ii. c. 11. in tom, ii. p. 168.).

he justified this atrocious deed by the design which his predeceffor had formed of violating his alliance with the empire (16). Such a crime might not be incompatible with the virtues of a Barbarian; but the manners of Theodoric were gentle and humane; and posterity may contemplate without terror the original picture of a Gothic king, whom Sidonius had intimately observed, in the hours of peace and of focial intercourse. In an epiftle, dated from the court of Thoulouse, the orator fa isfies the curiofity of one of his friends, in the following description (17): " By " the majesty of his appearance, Theodoric " would command the respect of those who are ignorant of his merit; and although he is born " a prince, his merit would dignify a private " station. He is of a middle stature, his body " appears rather plump than fat, and in his well-" proportioned limbs agility is united with muf-" cular strength (18). If you examine his coun-" tenance, you will distinguish a high forehead, " large shaggy eyebrows, an aquiline nose, thin " lips, a regular set of white teeth, and a fair " complexion, that blushes more frequently from " modesty

(16) Isidore, archbishop of Seville, who was himself of the blood royal of the Goths, acknowledges, and almost justifies (H st. Goth. p. 718.) the crime which their slave Jornandes had

baiely defembled (c. 43. p. 673.).

17) This elaborate description (l. i. ep. ii. p. 2-7.) was dictated by some political motive. It was designed for the public eye, and had been shewn by the friends of Sidonius, before it was inserted in the collection of his epistles. The first book was published separately. See Tillemont, Memoires Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 264.

(18) I have suppressed, in this portrait of Theodoric, several minute circumstances, and technical phrases, which could be tolerable, or indeed intelligible, to those only who, like the contemporaries of Sidenius, had frequented the markets where naked slaves were exposed to sale (Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 494.).

" modesty than from anger. The ordinary dif-" tribution of his time, as far as it is exposed to " the public view, may be concifely represented. " Before day-break, he repairs, with a small train, " to his domestic chapel, where the fervice is " performed by the Arian clergy; but those who or prefume to interpret his fecret fentiments, con-" fider this affiduous devotion as the effect of ha-"bit and policy. The rest of the morning is " employed in the administration of his king-" dom. His chair is furrounded by fome milita-" ry officers of decent aspect and behaviour: " the noify crowd of his Barbarian guards oc-" cupies the hall of audience; but they are not " permitted to fland within the veils or curtains, "that conceal the council-chamber from vulgar " eyes. The ambassadors of the nations are suc-" cestively introduced: Theodoric listens with " attention, answers them with discreet brevity, " and either announces or delays, according to " the nature of their bufiness, his final resoluti-About eight (the fecond hour) he rifes " from his throne, and visits, either his treasury, or his stables. If he chuses to hunt, or at least " to exercise himself on horseback, his bow is " carried by a favourite youth; but when the " game is marked, he bends it with his own " hand, and feldom miffes the object of his aim: " as a king, he disdains to bear arms in such ig-" noble warfare; but as a foldier, he would blush " to accept any military fervice which he could " perform himself. On common days, his din-" ner is not different from the repast of a private " citizen; but every Saturday many honourable guests are invited to the royal table, which, on these occasions, is served with the elegance " of Greece, the plenty of Gaul, and the order

" and diligence of Italy (19). The gold or fil-" ver plate is less remarkable for its weight, than " for the brightness and curious workmanship: " the tafte is gratified without the help of foreign " and coftly luxury; the fize and number of the " cups of wine are regulated with a strict regard " to the laws of temperance; and the respectful " filence that prevails, is interrupted only by " grave and instructive conversation. After din-" ner, Theodoric fometimes indulges himself in " a short slumber; and as soon as he wakes, he " calls for the dice and tables, encourages his " friends to forget the royal majefty, and is de-" lighted when they freely express the passions, " which are excited by the incidents of play. At " this game, which he loves as the image of war, " he alternately displays his eagerness, his skill, " his patience, and his cheerful temper. If he " loses, he laughs; he is modest and filent if he " wins. Yet, notwithstanding this seeming in-" difference, his courtiers chuse to solicit any fa-" vour in the moments of victory; and I my-" felf, in my applications to the king, have de-" rized some benefit from my losses (20). About "the ninth hour (three o'clock) the tide of busi-" ness again returns, and flows incessantly till " after fun-fet, when the fignal of the royal fup-" per dismisses the weary crowd of suppliants " and pleaders. At the supper, a more familiar " repast, buffoons and pantomimes are sometimes " introduced, to divert, not to offend, the com-

(19) Videas ibi elegantiam Græcam, abundantiam Gallicanam; celeritatem Italam; publicam pompam, privatam diligentiam, regiam disciplinam.

(20) Tunc etiam ego aliquid obsecraturus seliciter vincor, et mihi tabula perit ut causa salvetur. Sidonius of Auvergne was not a subject of Theodoric; but he might be compelled to solicit either justice or savour at the court of Thoulouse.

pany, by their ridiculous wit: but female fingers, and the foft effeminate mode of music, " are feverely banished, and such martial tunes " as animate the foul to deeds of valour are " alone grateful to the ear of Theodoric. He " retires from table; and the nocturnal guards " are immediately posted at the entrance of the " treasury, the palace, and the private apart-

His expedition into Spain,

When the king of the Visigoths encouraged Avitus to assume the purple, he offered his person A. D. 456 and his forces, as a faithful soldier of the republic (21). The exploits of Theodoric foon convinced the world, that he had not degenerated from the warlike virtues of his ancestors. After the establishment of the Goths in Aquitain, and the passage of the Vandals into Africa, the Suevi, who had fixed their kingdom in Gallicia, aspired to the conquest of Spain, and threatened to extinguish the feeble remains of the Roman dominion. The provincials of Carthagena and Tarragona, afflicted by an hoftile invalion, reprefented their injuries and their apprehensions. Count Fronto was dispatched, in the name of the emperor Avitus, with advantageous offers of peace and alliance; and Theodoric interposed his weighty mediation, to declare, that, unless his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, immediately retired, he should be obliged to arm in the cause of justice and of Rome. " Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, " that I despise " his friendship and his arms; but that I shall ce foon

Principe te, MILES.

Sidon. Panegyr. Avit. 511.

⁽²¹⁾ Theodoric himself had given a sclemn and voluntary promile of fidelity, which was undergood both in Gaul and Spain. - Romæ sum, te duce, Amicus,

foon try, whether he will dare to expect my " arrival under the walls of Thoulouse." Such a challenge urged Theodoric to prevent the bold defigns of his enemy: he passed the Pyrenees at the head of the Vifigoths: the Franks and Burgundians ferved under his standard; and though he professed himself the dutiful servant of Avitus. he privately stipulated, for himself and his succeffors, the absolute possession of his Spanish conquests. The two armies, or rather the two nations, encountered each other on the banks of the river Urbicus, about twelve miles from Afterga; and the decifive victory of the Goths appeared for a while to have extirpated the name and kingdom of the Suevi. From the field of battle Theodoric advanced to Braga, their metropolis, which still retained the splendid vestiges of its ancient commerce and dignity (22). His entrance was not polluted with blood, and the Goths respected the chastity of their female captives, more especially of the consecrated virgins: but the greatest part of the clergy and people were made flaves, and even the churches and altars were confounded in the universal pillage. The unfortunate king of the Suevi had escaped to one of the ports of the ocean; but the obstinacy of the winds opposed his flight; he was delivered to his implacable rival; and Rechiarius, who neither defired nor expected mercy, received, with manly constancy, the death which he would probably have inflicted. After this bloody Vol. VI.-F facrifice

(22) Quæque sinû pelagi jactat se Bracara dives.

Auson. de Claris Urbibus, p. 245.

From the design of the king of the Suevi, it is evident that the navigation from the ports of Gallicia to the Mediterranean was known and practised. The ships of Bracara, or Braga, cautiously steered along the coast, without daring to lose themselves in the Atlantic.

facrifice to policy or refentment, Th odoric carried his victorious arms as far as Merida, the principal town of Lusitania, without meeting any resistance, except from the miraculous powers of St. Eulalia; but he was stopped in the full career of fuccess, and recalled from Spain, before he could provide for the fecurity of his conquests, In his retreat towards the Pyrenees, he revenged his disappointment on the country through which he passed, and in the sack of Pollentia and Astorga, he shewed himself a faithless ally, as well as a cruel enemy. Whilft the king of the Vifigoths fought and vanquished in the name of Avitus, the reign of Avitus had expired; and both the honour and the interest of Theodoric were deeply wounded by the difgrace of a friend, whom he had feated on the throne of the Western empire (23).

Avitus is deposed, October 16.

The pressing solicitations of the senate and peo-A.D. 456, ple, persuaded the emperor Avitus to fix his residence at Rome, and to accept the confulfhip for the ensuing year. On the first day of January, his son-in-law, Sidonius Apoilinaris, celebrated his praises in a panegyric of fix hundred verses: but this composition, though it was rewarded with a brass statue (24), seems to contain a very moderate proportion, either of genius or of truth. The poet, if we may degrade that facred name, exaggerates the merit of a fovereign and a father; and his prophecy of a long and glorious reign was foon contradicted by the event. Avitus, at a time

> (23) This Suevic war is the most authentic part of the Chroni-ele of Idatius, who, as bishop of Iria Flavia, was himself a spectator and a sufferer. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 675, 676, 677.) has expatiated, with pleasure, on the Gothic victory.

> (24) In one of the porticoes or galleries belonging to Trajan's library; among the statues of famous waters and orators. S.don.

Apoll. 1. ix. epift. 16. p. 284. Carm. viii. p. 350.

a time when the Imperial dignity was reduced to a pre-eminence of toil and danger, indulged himself in the pleasures of Italian luxury: age had not extinguished his amorous inclinations; and he is accused of insulting, with indiscreet and ungenerous raillery, the husbands whose wives he had seduced or violated 25). Romans were not inclined, either to excuse his faults, or to acknowledge his virtues. veral parts of the empire became every day more alienated from each other; and the stranger of Gaul was the object of popular hatred and contempt. The senate afferted their legitimate claim in the election of an emperor; and their authority, which had been originally derived from the old conflitution, was again fortified by the actual weakness of a declining monarchy. Yet even fuch a monarchy might have refifted the votes of an unarmed senate, if their discontent had not been supported, or perhaps inflamed, by Count Ricimer, one of the principal commanders of the Barbarian troops, who formed the military defence of Italy. The daughter of Wallia, king of the Viligoths, was the mother of Ricimer; but he was descended, on the fatter's side, from the nation of the Suevi (26): his pride, or patriotisin, might be exasperated by the misfortunes of his countrymen; and he obeyed, with reluctance, an emperor, in whose elevation he had not been confulted. His faithful and im-L 2 portant

(25) Luxuriose agere volens a senatoribus projectus est, is the concile expression of Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. in tom. ii. p. 163.). An old Chronicle (in tom. il. p. 649.) mentions an indecent jest of Avitus, which seems more applicable to Rome than to Treves.

(26) Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 302, &c.) praises the royal birth of Ricimer, the lawful heir, as he chuses to infinuate, both of the Gothic and Suevic kingdoms.

portant fervices against the common enemy, rendered him still more formidable (27); and after destroying, on the coast of Corsica, a fleet of Vandals, which confifted of fixty gallies, Ricimer returned in triumph with the appellation of the Deliverer of Italy. He chose that moment to fignify to Avitus, that his reign was at an end; and the feeble emperor, at a distance from his Gothic allies, was compelled, after a short and unavailing struggle, to abdicate the purple. the clemency, however, or the contempt, of Ricimer (28), he was permitted to descend from the throne, to the more defirable flation of bishop of Placentia: but the resentment of the senate was still unfatisfied; and their inflexible severity pronounced the sentence of his death. He fled towards the Alps, with the humble hope, not of arming the Viligoths in his cause, but of securing his person and treasures in the sanctuary of Julian, one of the tutelar faints of Auvergne (29). Disease, or the hand of the executioner, arrested him on the road; yet his remains were decently transported to Brivas, or Brioude, in his native province, and he reposed at the feet of his holy patron (30). Avitus left only one daughter, the wife

(27) See the Chronicle of Idatius. Jornandes (c. 44. p. 676.) ftyles him, with some truth, virum egregium, et pene tunc in Italia ad exercitum singularem.

(28) Parcens innocentiæ Aviti, is the compassionate, but contemptuous, language of Victor Tunnunensis (in Chron. apud Scaliger Euseb.). In another place, he calls him, vir totius simplicitat s. This commendation is more humble, but it is more sold and sincere, than the praises of Sidonius.

(29) He instered, as it is supposed, in the persecution of Diocletian (1 memont, Mem. Eccles tom. v. p. 279. 696.). Gregory of Tours, his peculiar votary, has dedicated, to the glory of Julian the Marty, an entire book (de Gloria Martyrum, l. ii. in Max Bioliot. Patrum, tom. xi. p. 861—871.), in which he relates about fifty foolish miracles personned by his relics.

(30) Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. xi. p. 168.) is concise, 1 at

wife of Sidonius Apollinaris, who inherited the patrimony of his father-in-law; lamenting, at the same time, the disappointment of his public and private expectations. His resentment prompted him to join, or at least to countenance, the measures of a rebellious faction in Gaul; and the poet had contracted some guilt, which it was incumbent on him to expiate, by a new tribute of flattery to the succeeding emperor. (21).

The fuccessor of Avitus presents the welcome Character discovery of a great and heroic character, such and elevation of as sometimes arise in a degenerate age, to vindi Majorian, cate the honour of the human species. The em A. D. 4570 peror Majorian has deserved the praises of his contemporaries, and of posterity; and these praises may be strongly expressed in the words of a judicious and disinterested historian: "That he was gentle to his subjects; that he was terrible to his enemies; and that he excelled in every virtue, all his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans (32)." Such a testimony may

correct, in the reign of his countryman. The words of Idatius, " caret imperio, caret et vitâ," feem to imply, that the death of Avitus was violent; but it must have been secret, since Evagrius (l. ii. c. 7.) could suppose, that he died of the plague.

(31) After a modelt appeal to the examples of his brethren, Virgil and Horace, Sidonius honestly confesses the debt, and promises payment.

Sic mihi diverso nuper sub Marte cadenti Justisti placido Victor ut essem animo. Serviat ergo tibi servati lingua poetæ, Atque meæ vitæ laus tua sit pretium.

Sidon. Apoll. carm. iv. p. 508.

See Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 448, &c.

(32) The words of Procopius deserve to be transcribed; story γαρ ο Μαιορινος ξυμπαντας τες πυποτε Ρωμαιων βεβασιλευκοτας υπεραιρων αρετη παση; and afterwards, ανηρ τα μεν εις τες υπνμοθες μετριος γεγοιως, φοβερος δε τα ες τες πολεμίους (de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 194.); a concide but comprehensive definition of royal virtue.

may justify at least the panegyric of Sidonius: and we may acquiesce in the assurance, that, although the obsequious orater would have flattered, with equal zeal, the most worthless of princes, the extraordinary merit of his object confined him, on this occasion, within the bounds of truth (22) Majorian derived his name from his maternal grandfather, who, in the reign of the great Theodofius, had commanded the troops of the Illyrian frontier. He gave his daughter in marriage to the father of Majorian, a respectable officer, who administered the revenues of Gaul with skill and integrity; and generously preferred the friendship of Ætius, to the tempting offers of an infidious court. His fon, the future emperor, who was educated in the profession of arms, displayed from his early youth, intrepid courage, premature wisdom, and unbounded liberality in a scanty fortune. He followed the standard of Æcius, contributed to his success, shared, and sometimes eclipsed, his glory, and at last excited the jealousy of the patrician, or rather of his wife, who forced him to retire from the fervice (34). Majorian, after the death of Ætius, was recalled, and promoted; and his intimate connection with count Ricimer, was the immediate step by which he ascended the throne

⁽³³⁾ The Panegyric was pronounced at Lyons before the end of the year 458, while the emperor was still consul. It has more art than genius, and more labour than art. The ornaments are false or trivial; the expression is feeble and prolix; and Sidon us wants the skill to exhibit the principal figure in a strong and distinct light. The private life of Majorian occupies about two hundred times, 107—305.

⁽³⁴⁾ She pressed his immediate death, and was scarcely satisfied with his digrace. It should seem, that Ætius, like Belisarius and Marlborough, was governed by his wife; whose fervent piety, though it might work miracles (Gregor. Turon, l. ii. c. 7. p. 162.) was not incompatible with base and sanguinary counsels.

of the Western empire. During the vacancy that succeeded the abdication of Avitus, the ambitious Barbarian, whose birth excluded him from the Imperial dignity, governed Italy, with the title of Patrician; refigned, to his friend, the conspicuous station of master-general of the cavalry and infantry; and, after an interval of some months, confented to the unanimous wish of the Romans, whose favour Majorian had solicited by a recent victory over the Alemanni (35). He was invested with the purple at Ravenna; and the epiftle which he addressed to the senate, will best describe his situation and his sentiments. "Your election, Conscript Fathers ! and the or-" dinance of the most valiant army, have made " me your emperor (36). May the propitious " Deity direct and prosper the counsels and " events of my administration, to your advan-" tage, and to the public welfare. For my own " part, I did not aspire, I have submitted, to " reign; nor should I have discharged the obli-" gations of a citizen, if I had refused, with " base and selfish ingratitude, to support the " weight of those labours, which were imposed

(35) The Alemanni had passed the Rhætian Alps, and were defeated in the Campi Canini, or Valley of Bellinzone, through which the Tesin flows, in its descent from mount Adula, to the Lago Maggiore (Cluver. Italia Antiq. tom. i. p. 100, 101.). This boasted victory over nine bundred Barbarians (Panegyr. Majorian, 373, &c.) betrays the extreme weakness of Italy.

(36) Imperatorem me factum, P. C. electionis vestræ arbitrio, et fortissimi exercitus ordinatione agnoscite (Novell. Majorian. tit. iii. p. 34. ad Calcem Cod. Theodos.). Sidonius pro-

claims the unanimous voice of the empire.

Ordo omnis regnum dederat; plebs, curia, miles,

This language is ancient and conflitutional; and we may obferve, that the clergy were not yet confidered as a distinct order of the state. " by the republic. Affift, therefore, the prince whom you have made; partake the duties " which you have enjoyed; and may our com-" mon endeavours promote the happiness of an " empire, which I have accepted from your " hands. Be affured, that, in our times, justice " shall resume her ancient vigour, and that vir-" tue shall become not only innocent, but me-" ritorious. Let none, except the authors them-" felves, be apprehensive of delations (37), which, " as a subject, I have always condemned, and, " as a prince, will feverely punish. Our own vigi-" lance, and that of our father, the patrician Ri-" cimer, shall regulate all military affairs, and provide for the fafety of the Roman world, which we have faved from foreign and domef-"tic enemies (38). You now understand the " maxims of my government: you may confide " in the faithful and fincere assurances of a prince, " who has formerly been the companion of your " life and dangers; who still glories in the name " of fenator, and who is anxious, that you " should never repent of the judgment which " you have pronounced in his favour." The emperor, who amidst the ruins of the Roman world, revived the ancient language of law and liberty, which Trajan would not have disclaimed, must have derived those generous sentiments from

(37) Either dilations, or delationes, would afford a tolerable reading; but there is much more fense and spirit in the latter, to which I have therefore given the preference.

(38) Ab externo hofte et a domestica clade liberavimus: by the latter, Majorian must understand the tyranny of Avitus; whose death he consequently avowed as a meritorious act. On this occasion, Sidonius is fearful and obscure; he describes the twelve Cæfars, the nations of Africa, &c. that he may escape the dange-

rous name of Avitus (305-369.).

from his own heart; fince they were not suggested to his imitation by the customs of his age,

or the example of his predecessors (39).

The private and public acts of Majorian are His falutavery imperfectly known: but his laws, remarka-ty laws, A. ble for an original cast of thought and expression, 461. faithfully represent the character of a sovereign, who loved his people, who sympathized in their diffress, who had studied the causes of the decline of the empire, and who was capable of applying (as far as fuch reformation was practicable) judicious and effectual remedies to the public diforders (40). His regulations concerning the finances manifestly tended to remove, or at least to mitigate, the most intolerable grievances. I. From the first hour of his reign, he was solicitous (I translate his own words) to relieve the weary fortunes of the provincials, oppressed by the accumulated weight of indictions and fuperindictions (41). With this view, he granted an universal amnesty, a final and absolute discharge of all arrears of tribute, of all debts, which, under any pretence, the filcal officers might demand from the people. This wife dereliction of obfolete, vexatious, and unprofitable claims, improved and purified the fources of the public revenue; and the subject, who could now look back without despair, might labour with hope and gratitude for himself and for his country. II. In the affessment

(39) See the whole edict or epiffle of Majorian to the fenate (Novell. tit. iv. p. 34.). Yet the expression, regnum nostrum, bears some taint of the age, and does not mix kindly with the word respublica, which he frequently repeats.

(40) See the laws of Majorian (they are only nine in number, but very long and various), at the end of the Theodosian code, Novell. 1. iv. p. 32-37. Godefroy has not given any commen-

tary on these additional pieces.

(41) Fessas provincialium varia atque multiplici tributorum exactione fortunas, et extraordinariis siscalium solutionum oneribus attritas, &c. Novell. Majorian. tit. iv. p. 34. affestment and collection of taxes Majorian restored the ordinary jurisdiction of the provincial magistrates; and suppressed the extraordinary commissions which had been introduced, in the name of the emperor himself, or of the Prætorian pix cas. The favourite fervants, who obtained fuch irregular powers, were infolent in their behaviour, and arbitrary in their demands: they affected to despise the subordinate tribunals. and they were discontented, if their fees and profits did not twice exceed the fum, which they condescended to pay into the treasury. One instance of their extortion would appear incredible. were it not authenticated by the legislator himfelf. They exacted the whole payment in gold: but they refused the current coin of the empire. and would accept only fuch ancient pieces as were flamped with the names of Faustina or the An-The subject, who was unprovided with tonines. these curious medals, had recourse to the expedient of compounding with their rapacious demands; or, if he succeeded in the research, his imposition was doubled, according to the weight and value of the money of former times (42). Ill. "The "municipal corporations (fays the emperor), the " leffer fenates (so antiquity has justly styled them) " deferve to be confidered as the heart of the ci-" ties, and the finews of the republic. And yet " so low are they now reduced, by the injustice " of magistrates, and the venality of collectors, that many of their members, renouncing their " dignity

⁽⁴²⁾ The learned Greaves (vol. i. p. 329, 330, 331.) has found, by a diligent inquiry, that aurei of the Antonines weighed one hundred and eighteen, and those of the fifth century only fixty-eight, English grains. Majorian gives currency to all gold coin, excepting only the Gallic folidus, from its deficiency, not in the weight, but in the standard.

" dignity and their country, have taken refuge " in diffant and obscure exile." He urges, and even compels, their return to their respective cities; but he removes the grievance which had forced them to defert the exercise of their municipal functions. They are directed, under the authority of the provincial magistrates, to resume their office of levying the tribute; but, inftead of being made responsible for the whole sum asfessed on their district, they are only required to produce a regular account of the payments which they have actually received, and of the defaulters who are still indebted to the public. IV. But Majorian was not ignorant, that these corporate bodies were too much inclined to retaliate the injustice and oppression which they had suffered; and he therefore revives the useful office of the defenders of cities. He exhorts the people to elect, in a full and free affembly, some man of discretion and integrity, who would dare to asfert their privileges, to represent their grievances, to protect the poor from the tyranny of the rich, and to inform the emperor of the abuses that were committed under the fanction of his name and authority.

The spectator, who casts a mournful view over The edifithe ruins of ancient Rome, is tempted to accuse ces of
the memory of the Goths and Vandals, for the
mischief which they had neither leisure, nor
power, nor perhaps inclination, to perpetrate.
The tempest of war might strike some lotty turrets to the ground; but the destruction which
undermined the foundations of those massy sabrics, was prosecuted, slowly and silently, during
a period of ten centuries; and the motives of interest, that afterwards operated without shame
or controul, were severely checked by the taste

and spirit of the emperor Majorian. The decay of the city had gradually impaired the value of the public works. The circus and theatres might ftill excite, but they feldom gratified, the defires of the people: the temples, which had escaped the zeal of the Christians, were no longer inhabited either by gods or men; the diminished crowds of the Romans were loft in the immense space of their baths and porticoes; and the stately libraries and halls of justice became useless to an indolent generation, whose repose was seldom disturbed, either by study, or business. The monuments of confular, or Imperial, greatness were no longer revered, as the immortal glory of the capital; they were only esteemed as an inexhaustible mine of materials, cheaper, and more convenient, than the diffant quarry. Specious petitions were continually addressed to the easy magistrates of Rome, which stated the want of stones or bricks for some necessary service: the fairest forms of architecture were rudely defaced for the fake of some paltry, or pretended, repairs; and the degenerate Romans, who converted the spoil to their own emolument, demolished, with sacrilegious hands, the labours of their ancestors. Majorian, who had often fighed over the defolation of the city, applied a fevere remedy to the growing evil (43). He referved to

⁽⁴³⁾ The whole edict (Novell. Majorian, tit. vi. p. 35.) is curious. "Antiquarum ædium dissipatur speciosa constructio; et "ut aliquid reparetur, magna diruuntur. Hinc jam occasio nascitur, ut etiam unusquisque privatum ædissium construens, per gratiam judicum præsumere de publicis socis necessaria, et transferre non dubitet, &c. With equal zeal, but with less power, Petrarch, in the fourteenth century, repeated the same complaints (Vie de Petrarque, tom. i. p. 326, 327.). If I prosecute this History, I shall not be unmindful of the decline and fall of the city of Rome; an interesting object, to which my plan was originally confined.

the prince and senate the sole cognisance of the extreme cases which might justify the destruction of an ancient edifice; imposed a fine of fifty pounds of gold (two thousand pounds sterling), on every magistrate, who should presume to grant fuch illegal and fcandalous licence; and threatened to chastise the criminal obedience of their fubordinate officers, by a fevere whipping, and the amputation of both their hands. In the last instance, the legislator might seem to forget the proportion of guilt and punishment; but his zeal arose from a generous principle, and Majorian was anxious to protect the monuments of those ages, in which he would have defired and deferved to live. The emperor conceived, that it was his interest to increase the number of his fubjects; that it was his duty to guard the purity of the marriage-bed: but the means which he employed to accomplish these falutary purposes. are of an ambiguous, and perhaps exceptionable. kind. The pious maids, who confecrated their virginity to Chrift, were restrained from taking the veil, till they had reached their fortieth year. Widows under that age were compelled to form a fecond alliance within the term of five years, by the forfeiture of half their wealth to their nearest relations, or to the state. Unequal marriages were condemned or annulled. The punishment of confication and exile was deemed to inadequate to the guilt of adultery, that, if the criminal returned to Italy, he might, by the express declaration of Majorian, be slain with impunity (44).

While

⁽⁴⁴⁾ The emperor chides the lenity of Rogatian, consular of Tuicany, in a ttyle of acrimonious reproof, which founds almost like personal retenament (Novell. tit. 1x. p. 37.). The law of Majorian, which punished obtainate widows, was soon afterwards repealed by his successes S. verus (Novell. Sever. tit. i. p. 37.).

Majorian D. 457.

While the emperor Majorian assiduously laprepares to boured to restore the happiness and virtue of the frica, A. Romans, he encountered the arms of Genseric, from his character and fituation, their most formidable enemy. A fleet of Vandals and Moors landed at the mouth of the Liris, or Garigliano: but the Imperial troops furprised and attacked the diforderly Barbarians, who were encumbered with the spoils of Campania; they were chased with flaughter to their ships, and their leader, the king's brother-in-law, was found in the number Such vigilance might anof the flain (45). nounce the character of the new reign; but the ftrictest vigilance, and the most numerous forces, were infufficient to protect the long-extended coast of Italy, from the depredations of a naval war. The public opinion had imposed a nobler and more arduous task on the genius of Majorian. Rome expected from him alone the restitution of Africa; and the defign, which he formed, of attacking the Vandals in their new fettlements, was the refult of bold and judicious policy. the intrepid emperor could have infused his own fpirit into the youth of Italy; if he could have revived, in the field of Mars, the manly exercises in which he had always furpaffed his equals; he might have marched against Genseric, at the head of a Roman army. Such a reformation of national manners might be embraced by the rifing generation; but it is the misfortune of those princes who laboriously fustain a declining monarchy, that, to obtain fome immediate advantage, or to avert fome impending danger, they are forced to countenance, and even to multiply the most pernicious abuses. Majorian, like the weakest

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 385-440.

weakest of his predecessors, was reduced to the diffraceful expedient of fubflituting Barbarian auxiliaries in the place of his unwarlike subjects: and his superior abilities could only be displayed in the vigour and dexterity with which he wielded a dangerous instrument, fo apt to recoil on the hand that used it. Besides the confederates, who were already engaged in the service of the empire, the fame of his liberality and valour attracted the nations of the Danube, the Borysthenes, and perhaps of the Tanais. Many thousands of the bravest subjects of Attila, the Gepidæ, the Oftrogoths, the Rugians, the Burgundians, the Suevi, the Alani, affembled in the plains of Liguria; and their formidable strength was balanced by their mutual animofities (46). They passed the Alps in a severe winter. The emperor led the way, on foot, and in complete armour; founding, with his long flaff, the depth of the ice, or fnow, and encouraging the Scythians, who complained of the extreme cold, by the cheerful affurance, that they should be fatisfied with the heat of Africa. The citizens of Lyons had prefumed to shut their gates: they foon implored, and experienced, the clemency of Majorian. He vanquished Theodoric in the field; and admitted to his friendship and alliance, a king whom he had found not unworthy of his arms. The beneficial, though precarious re-union of the greatest part part of Gaul and Spain, was the effect of perfuation, as well as of force:

⁽⁴⁶⁾ The review of the army, and passage of the Alps, contain the most tolerable passages of the Panegyric (470-552.). M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii. p. 49-55.) is a more satisfactory commentator, than either Savaron or Sirmond.

force (47); and the independent Bagaudæ, who had escaped, or refisted, the oppression of former reigns, were disposed to confide in the virtues of Majorian. His camp was filled with Barbarian allies; his throne was supported by the zeal of an affectionate people; but the emperor had forescen, that it was impossible, without a maritime power, to atchieve the conquest of Africa. In the first Punic war, the republic had exerted fuch incredible diligence, that, within fixty days after the first stroke of the axe had been given in the forest, a fleet of one hundred and fixty gallies proudly rode at anchor in the fea (48). Under circumstances much less favourable, Majorian equalled the spirit and perseverance of the ancient Romans. The woods of the Apennine were felled; the arfenals and manufactures of Ravenna and Misenum were restored; Italy and Gaul vied with each other in liberal contributions to the public fervice; and the Imperial navy of three hundred large gallies, with an adequate proportion of transports and smaller vessels, was collected in the secure and capacious harbour of Carthagena in Spain (49). The intrepid coun-

(47) Ta μεν οπλοις, τα δε λογοις, is the just and forcible diftinction of Priscus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 42.) in a short fragment, which throws much right on the history of Majorian. Jornandes has suppressed the defeat and alliance of the Visigoths, which were solemnly proclaimed in Galicia; and are marked in the Chronicle of Idatius.

(48) Floris, I. ii. c. 2. He amuses himself with the poetical fancy, that the trees had been transformed into ships: and indeed the whole transact on, as it is related in the first book of Polybius, deviates too much from the probable course of human events.

(49) Interea duplici texts dum littore classem
Inferno superoque mari, cedit omnis in æquor
Sylva tibi, &c.

Sidon. Panegyr. Majorian. 441—467. The number of ships, which Priscus fixes at 300, is magnified, by an indefinite comparison with the fleets of Agamemnon, Xer-xes, and Augustus.

tenance of Majorian animated his troops with a confidence of victory; and if we might credit the historian Procopius, his courage sometimes hurried him beyond the bounds of prudence. Anxious to implore, with his own eyes, the state of the Vandals, he ventured, after disguising the colour of his hair, to visit Carthage, in the character of his own ambassador: and Genseric was afterwards mortified by the discovery, that he had entertained and dismissed the emperor of the Romans. Such an anecdote may be rejected as an improbable siction; but it is a siction which would not have been imagined, unless in the life of a hero (50).

Without the help of a personal interview, The loss of Genseric was sufficiently acquainted with the ge-his fleet. nius and defigns of his adversary. He practifed his customary arts of fraud and delay, but he practifed them without fuccess. His applications for peace became each hour more submissive, and perhaps more fincere, but the inflexible Majorian had adopted the ancient maxim, that Rome could not be fafe, as long as Carthage existed in a hoslile state. The king of the Vandals diftrusted the valour of his native subjects, who were enervated by the luxury of the South (51); he suspected the fidelity of the vanquished people, who abhorred him as an Arian tyrant; and VOL. VI.-F the

⁽⁵⁰⁾ Procopius de Bell. Vandal. 1. i. c. 8. p. 194. When Genferic conducted his unknown guest into the arfenal of Carthage, the arms clashed of their own accord. Majorian had tinged his yellow locks with a black colour.

^{(51) ———} Spoliisque potitus Immensis, robur luxû jam perdidit omne, Quo valuit dum pauper erat.

Panegyr. Majorian. 330. He afterwards applies to Genseric, unjust y as it should seem, the vices of his subjects.

the desperate measure, which he executed, of reducing Mauritania into a defert (52), could not defeat the operations of the Roman emperor. who was at liberty to land his troops on any part of the African coast. But Genseric was saved from impending and inevitable ruin, by the treachery of some powerful subjects; envious, or apprehensive, of their master's success. Guided by their fecret intelligence, he furprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagena: many of the ships were funk, or taken, or burnt; and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a fingle day (53). After this event, the behaviour of the two antagonists shewed them superior to their fortune. The Vandal, instead of being elated by this accidental victory, immediately renewed his folicitations for peace. The emperor of the West, who was capable of forming great defigns, and of supporting heavy disappointments, confented to a treaty, or rather to a fufpension of arms; in the full assurance that, before he could reftore his navy, he should be supplied with provocations to justify a second war. Majorian returned to Italy, to profecute his labours for the public happiness; and, as he was conscious of his own integrity, he might long remain ignorant of the dark conspiracy which threatened his throne and his life. The recent misfortune of Carthagena fullied the glory, which

(53) Idatius, who was fafe in Gallicia from the power of Ricimer, boldly and honestly declares, Vandali per proditores admoniti, &c. he dissembles, however, the name of the traitor.

⁽⁵²⁾ He burnt the villages, and poisoned the springs. (Priscus, p. 42.) Dubos (Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 475.) observes, that the magazines which the Moois buried in the earth, might escape his destructive search. Two or three hundred pits are sometimes dug in the same place; and each pit contains at least four hundred bushes of corn. Shaw's Travels, p. 139.

(53) Idatius, who was safe in Gallicia from the power of Ri-

had dazzled the eyes of the multitude: almost every description of civil and military officers were exasperated against the Reformer, since they all derived some advantage from the abuses which he endeavoured to suppress; and the patrician Ricimer impelled the inconstant passions of the Barbarians against a prince whom he esteened and hated. The virtues of Majorian could not protect him from the impetuous fedition, which broke out in the camp near Tortona, at the foot of the Alps. He was compelled to abdicate the Imperial purple: five days after his abdication, it was reported that he died of a dysentery (54); His death, and the humble tomb, which covered his remains, A. D. 461. was confecrated by the respect and gratitude of August 7. fucceeding generations (55). The private character of Majorian inspired love and respect. Malicious calumny and fatire excited his indignation, or, if he himself were the object, his contempt: but he protected the freedom of wit, and in the hours which the emperor gave to the familiar fociety of his friends, he could indulge his tafte for pleafantry, without degrading the majesty of his rank (56).

M 2 It

(54) Procop. de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 8. p. 194. The testimony of Idatus is fair and impartial; "Majorianum de Galliis Romain redeuntem, et Romain imperio vel nomini res necessarias ordinantem; Richimer livore percitus, et invidorum constitui fultus, fraude interficit ci-cumventum." Some read Sue-evorum, and I am unwilling to efface either of the words, as they express the different accomplices who united in the conspiracy against Majorian.

(55) See the Epigrams of Ennodius, No. exxxv. inter Siranond Opera, tom. i. p. 1903. It is flut and obscure; but Ennodius was made bishop of Pavia fifty years after the death of Majorian, and his praise deserves credit and regard.

(56) Sidenius gives a tedious archaet (1, i. epift. xi. p. 25—31.) of a supper at Arles, to which he was invited by Majorian, a short time before his death. He had no intention of praying a deceased

Ricimer reigns under the name of Severus, A. D. 461 -467.

It was not perhaps without some regret, that Ricimer facrificed his friend to the interest of his ambition: but he refolved, in a fecond choice, to avoid the imprudent preference of superior virtue and merit. At his command, the obsequious senate of Rome bestowed the Imperial title on Libius Severus, who ascended the throne of the West without emerging from the obscurity of a private condition. History has scarcely deigned to notice his birth, his elevation, his character, or his death. Severus expired, as foon as his life became inconvenient to his patron (57); and it would be useless to discriminate his nominal reign in the vacant interval of fix years, between the death of Majorian, and the elevation of Anthemius. During that period the government was in the hands of Ricimer alone; and although the modest Barbarian disclaimed the name of king, he accumulated treasures, formed a separate army, negociated private alliances, and ruled Italy with the same independent and despotic authority, which was afterwards exercised by Odoacer and Theodoric. But his dominions were bounded by the Alps; and two Roman generals, Marcellinus and Ægidius, maintained their allegiance to the republic, by rejecting, with disdain, the Revolt of phantom which he ftyled an emperor. Marcellinus still adhered to the old religion; and the devout

Marcellinus in Dalmatia,

> deceased emperor; but a casual difinterested remark, " Subrist " Augustus; ut erat, auctoritate servata cum se communioni de-" diffet, joci plenus," outweighs the fix hundred lines of his venal panegyric.

(57) Sidonius (Panegyr. Anthem. 317.) dismisses him to

heaven.

Auxerat Augustus naturæ lege Severus Divorum numerum. -

And an old lift of the emperors, composed about the time of Justinian, praises his piety, and fixes his residence at Rome. (Sirmond Not. ad Sidon. p. 111, 112.)

vout Pagans, who fecretly disobeyed the laws of the church and state, applauded his profound skill in the science of divination. But he possesfed the more valuable qualifications of learning, virtue, and courage (58); the study of the Latin literature had improved his tafte; and his military talents had recommended him to the efteem and confidence of the great Ætius, in whose ruin he was involved. By a timely flight, Marcellinus escaped the rage of Valentinian, and boldly afferted his liberty amidst the convulsions of the Western empire. His voluntary, or reluctant, fubmission, to the authority of Majorian, was rewarded by the government of Sicily, and the command of an army, flationed in that island to oppose, or to attack, the Vandals; but his Barbarian mercenaries, after the emperor's death, were tempted to revolt by the artful liberality of Ricimer. At the head of a band of faithful followers, the intrepid Marcellinus occupied the province of Dalmatia, affumed the title of patrician of the West, secured the love of his subjects by a mild and equitable reign, built a fleet, which claimed the dominion of the Hadriatic, and alternately alarmed the coasts of Italy and of Africa (59). Ægidius, the master-general of and of Gaul, who equalled, or at least who innitated, Egidina Gaul, the heroes of ancient Rome (60), proclaimed his

(58) Tillemont, who is always scandalized by the virtues of Infidels, attributes this advantageous portrait of Marcellinus (which Suidas has preserved), to the partial zeal of some Pagan historian (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 350.).

(59) Procopius de Beil. Vandal. 1. i. c. 6. p. 191. In various circumstances of the life of Marcellinus, it is not easy to reconcile the Greek historian with the Luin Chronicles of the times.

(60) I must apply to Ægidius, the praises which Sidonius (Pamegyr. Majorian, 553.) beltows on a nameless master-general, who commanded the rear-guard of Majorian. Idatius, from pub-

immortal refentment against the affassins of his beloved mafter. A brave and numerous army was attached to his flandard; and, though he was prevented by the arts of Ricimer, and the arms of the Visigoths, from marching to the gates of Rome, he maint ined his independent fovereignty beyond the Alps, and rendered the name of Ægidius respectable both in peace and war. The Franks, who had punished with exile the youthful follies of Childeric, elected the Roman general for their king; his vanity, rather than his ambition, was gratified by that fingular horour; and when the nation, at the end of four years, repented of the injury which they had offered to the Merovingian family, he patiently acquiefced in the restoration of the lawful prince. The authority of Ægidius ended only with his life; and the fuspicions of poison and secret violence, which derived some countenance from the character of Ricimer, were eagerly entertained by the passionate credulity of the Gauls (61).

Naval war The kingdom of Italy, a name to which the of the Western empire was gradually reduced, was af-Xandals, A. D. 361 slicted, under the reign of Ricimer, by the in-

lie report, commends his Christian piety; and Priscus mentions

(p. 42.) his military virtues.

(61) Greg. Turon. I. ii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 168. The Pere Daniel, whose ideas were superficial and modern, has started some objections against the story of Childeric (Hist. de France, tom. i. Preface Historique, p. lxxviii &c.): but they have been fairly satisfied by Dubos (Hid. Crinque, tom. i. p. 460-510.), and by two authors who disputed the prize of the Academy of Soissons (p. 131-177. 210-339.). With regard to the term of Childeric's exile, it is necessary either to prolong the life of Ægidius beyond the date assigned by the Chronicle of Idatius; or to correct the text of Gregory, by reading quarto anno, instead of offavo.

cessant depredations of the Vandal pirates (62). In the fpring of each year, they equipped a formidable navy in the port of Carthage; and Genferic himself, though in a very advanced age, still commanded in person the most important expeditions. His defigns were concealed with impenetrable fecrecy, till the moment that he hoifted When he was asked by his pilot, what course he should steer; " Leave the determina-" tion to the winds (replied the Barbarian, with " pious arrogance); they will transport us to the " guilty couft, whose inhabitants have provoked " the divine justice:" but if Genseric himself deigned to iffue more precise orders, he judged the most wealthy to be the most criminal. The Vandals repeatedly vifited the coasts of Spain, Liguria, Tufcany, Campania, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Calabria, Venetia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Greece, and Sicily: they were tempted to subdue the island of Sardinia, so advantageously placed in the centre of the Mediterranean; and their arms spread desolation, or terror, from the columns of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. As they were more ambitious of spoil than of glory, they feldom attacked any fortified cities,

(62) The naval war of Genseric is described by Priscus (Excerpta Legation, p. 42.), Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. 5, p. 189, 190. and c. 22. p. 228.), Victor Vitensis (de Persecut. Vandal. I. i. c. 17.), and Ruinart, (p. 467—481.), and in the three panegyrics of Sidonius, whose chronological order is absurdly transposed in the editions both of Savaron and Sirmond. (Avir. Carm. vii. 441—451. Majorian, Carm. v. 327—350—385—440. Anthem. Carm. ii. 348—386.) In one passage the poet seems inspired by his subject, and expresses a strong idea, by a lively image:

Hinc Vandalus hostis
Urget; et in nostrum numeros à classe quotannis
Militat excidium; conversoque ordine Fati
Torrida Caucaseos infert mini Byrsa surores.

or engaged any regular troops in the open field. But the celerity of their motions enabled them. almost at the same time, to threaten and to attack the most distant objects, which attracted their defires; and as they always embarked a fufficient number of horses, they had no sooner landed, than they fwept the difmayed country with a bo. dy of light cavalry. Yet, notwithstanding the example of their king, the native Vandals and Alani infenfibly declined this toilsome and perilous warfare; the hardy generation of the first conquerors was almost extinguished, and their fons, who were born in Africa, enjoyed the delicious baths and gardens which had been acquired by the valour of their fathers. Their place was readily supplied by a various multitude of Moors and Romans, of captives and outlaws; and those desperate wretches, who had already violated the laws of their country, were the most eager to promote the atrocious acts which difgrace the victories of Genseric. In the treatment of his unhappy prisoners, he fometimes consulted his avarice, and fometimes indulged his cruelty; and the massacre of five hundred noble citizens of Zant or Zacynthus, whose mangled bodies he cast into the Ionian sea, was imputed, by the public indignation, to his latest posterity.

Negociations with
the Eastern vocations; but the war, which the king of the
empire,

A. D. 462, was justified by a specious and reasonable motive.

The widow of Valentinian Endevis when he

The widow of Valentinian, Eudoxia, whom he had led captive from Rome to Carthage, was the fole heirefs of the Theodofian house; her elder daughter, Eudocia, became the reluctant wife of Hunneric, his eldest son; and the stern father, afferting a legal claim, which could not easily be resuted

refuted or fatisfied, demanded a just proportion of the Imperial patrimony. An adequate, or at least a valuable, compensation, was offered by the Eastern emperor, to purchase a necessary peace. Eudoxia and her younger daughter, Placidia, were honourably reftored, and the fury of the Vandals was confined to the limits of the Western empire. The Italians, destitute of a naval force, which alone was capable of protecting their coafts, implored the aid of the more fortunate nations of the East; who had formerly acknowledged, in peace and war, the supremacy of Rome. But the perpetual division of the two empires had alienated their interest and their inclinations; the faith of a recent treaty was alleged; and the Western Romans, instead of arms and ships, could only obtain the affiftance of a cold and ineffectual mediation. The haughty Ricimer, who had long struggled with the difficulties of his fituation, was at length reduced to address the throne of Constantinople in the humble language of a subject; and Italy submitted, as the price and fecurity of the alliance, to accept a mafter from the choice of the emperor of the East (63). It is not the purpose of the present chapter, or even of the present volume, to continue the distinct series of the Byzantine history; but a concife view of the reign and character of

(63) The poet himself is compelled to acknowledge the distress of Ricimer:

Præterea invictus Ricimer, quem publica fata Respiciunt, progrio solus vix Marte repellit

the emperor Leo, may explain the last efforts that were attempted to fave the falling empire of

the West (64).

Leo, emperer of the East, -474.

Since the death of the younger Theodofius. the domestic repose of Constantinople had never A. D. 457 been interrupted by war or faction. Pulcheria had bestowed her hand, and the sceptre of the East, on the modest virtue of Marcian: he gratefully reverenced her august rank and virgin chaftity; and, after her death, he gave his people the example of the religious worship, that was due to the memory of the Imperial faint (65). Attentive to the prosperity of his own dominions, Marcian feemed to behold, with indifference, the misfortunes of Rome; and the obstinate refusal of a brave and active prince, to draw his fword against the Vandals, was ascribed to a secret promile, which had formerly been exacted from him when he was a captive in the power of Genferic The death of Marcian, after a reign of feven years, would have exposed the East to the danger of a popular election; if the fuperior weight of a fingle family, had not been able to incline the balance in favour of the candidate whose interest they supported. The patrician Afpar might have placed the diadem on his own head; if he would have subscribed the Nicene creed

> (64) The original authors of the reigns of Marcian, Leo, and Zeno, are reduced to some imperfect fragments, whose deficiencies must be supplied from the more recent compilations of Theophanes, Zonaras, and Cedrenus.

(66) See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. 1. i. c. 4. p. 185.

⁽⁶⁵⁾ St. Pulcheria died A. D. 453, four years before her nominal husband; and her fettival is celebrated on the 10th of September by the modern Greeks: the bequeathed an immense patrimony to pious, or at least to ecclesiastical, uses. See Tillemont, Memoires Ecclei. tom. xv. p. 181-184.

creed (67). During three generations, the armies of the East were successively commanded by his father, by himself, and by his son Ardaburius: his Barbarian guards formed a military force that overawed the palace and the capital; and the liberal diffribution of his immente treafures, rendered A!par as popular, as he was powerful. He recommended the obscure name of Leo of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. His nomination was unanimously raisfied by the senate; and the fervant of Afpar received the Imperial crown from the hands of the patriaich, or bishop, who was permitted to express, by this unufual ceremony, the suffrage of the Detty (68). This emperor, the first of the name of Leo, has been distinguished by the title of the Great; from a fuccession of princes, who gradually fixed, in the opinion of the Greeks, a very humble standard of heroic, or at least of royal, perfection. Yet the temperate firmness with which Leo resisted the oppression of his benefactor, shewed that he was confcious of his duty and of his prerogative. Aspar was assomished to find that his influence could no longer appoint a præfect of Constantinople: he prefumed to reproach his fovereign with a breach of promife, and infolently shaking his purple, "It is not proper (faid he), that the man who is invested with this garment, should be guilty " of lying." " Nor is it proper (replied Leo) that " a prince should be compelled to refign his own " judgment.

(67) From this disability of Aspar to ascend the throne, it may be inferred that the stain of Heresy was perpetual and indelible, while that of Barbarism disappeared in the second generation.

⁽⁶⁸⁾ Theophanes, p. 95. This appears to be the first origin of a ceremony, which all the Christian princes of the world have since adopted; and from which the clergy have deduced the most formidable consequences.

" judgment, and the public interest, to the will " of a subject (69)." After this extraordinary fcene, it was impossible that the reconciliation of the emperor and the patrician could be fincere; or, at least, that it could be folid and permanent. An army of Isaurians (70) was secretly levied, and introduced into Constantinople; and while Leo undermined the authority, and prepared the difgrace, of the family of Aspar, his mild and cautious behaviour restrained them from any rash and desperate attempts, which might have been fatal to themselves, or their enemies. The measures of peace and war were affected by this internal revolution. As long as Aspar degraded the majefty of the throne, the fecret correspondence of religion and interest engaged him to favour the cause of Genseric. When Leo had delivered himself from that ignominious servitude, he listened to the complaints of the Italians; refolved to extirpate the tyranny of the Vandals; and declared his alliance with his colleague, Anthemius, whom he folemnly invested with the diadem and purple of the West.

Anthemius The virtues of Anthemius have perhaps been emperor of magnified, fince the Imperial descent, which he the West, A.D. 467 could only deduce from the usurper Procopius, —472. has been swelled into a line of emperors (71).

But

(69) Cedrenus (p. 345, 346.), who was conversant with the writers of better days, has preserved the remarkable words of Aspar, βασιλευ τον αυτην την αλεργίδα περιβεβλημηίον & χεη διαψευδεσθαι.

βασιλευ τον αυτην την αλεχγιδα ωεριβεβλημη: « χρη διαψευδεσθαι. (70) The power of the Hamians agitated the Eastern empire in the two fucceeding reigns of Zeno and Anastasius; but it ended in the destruction of those Barbarians, who maintained their sierce independence about two hundred and thirty years.

(71) — Tali tu civis ab urbe Procopio genitore micas; cui prifca propago

Augustus venit a froavis.

The poet (Sidon. Panegyr. Anthem. 67—306.) then proceeds to relate the private life and fortunes of the return emperor, with which he must have been very impersectly acquainted.

But the merit of his immediate parents, their honours, and their riches, rendered Anthemius one of the most illustrious subjects of the East. His father, Procopius, obtained, after his Persian embaffy, the rank of general and patrician; and the name of Anthemius was derived from his maternal grandfather, the celebraetd præfect, who protected, with fo much ability and fuccess, the infant reign of Theodolius. The grandson of the præfect was raifed above the condition of a private subject, by his marriage with Euphemia, the daughter of the emperor Marcian. This splendid alliance, which might superfede the necessity of merit, hastened the promotion of Anthemius to the successive dignicies of count, of mastergeneral, of conful, and of patrician; and his merit or fortune claimed the honours of a victory, which was obtained on the banks of the Danube, over the Huns. Without indulging an extravagant ambition, the fon-in-law of Marcian might hope to be his fuccessor; but Anthemius fupported the disappointment with courage and patience; and his subsequent elevation was univerfally approved by the public, who efteemed him worthy to reign, till he afcended the throne (72). The emperor of the West marched from Constantinople, attended by several counts of high distinction, and a body of guards, almost equal to the strength and numbers of a regular army: he entered Rome in triumph, and the A. D. 467, choice of Leo was confirmed by the fenate, the April 12. people, and the Barbarian confederates of Italy (73)

⁽⁷²⁾ Sidonius discovers, with tolerable ingenuity, that this disappointment added new lustre to the virtues of Anthemius (210, &c.), who declined one sceptre, and reluctantly accepted another (22, &c.).

The folemn inauguration of Anthemius was followed by the nuptials of his daughter and the patrician Ricimer; a fortunate event, which was confidered as the firmest security of the union and happiness of the state. The wealth of two empires was oftentationfly displayed; and many fenators completed their ruin by an expensive effort to disguise their poverty. All serious business was suspended during this festival; the courts of justice were shut; the streets of Rome, the theatres, the places of public and private refort. refounded with hymenæal fongs and dances; and the royal bride, clothed in filken robes, with a crown on her head, was conducted to the palace of Ricimer, who had changed his military dress for the habit of a conful and a fenator. On this memorable occasion, Sidonius, whose early ambition had been so fatally blasted, appeared as the orator of Auvergne, among the provincial deputies who addressed the throne with congratulations

A.D. 468 or complaints (74). The calends of January January were now approaching, and the venal poet, who had loved Avitus, and esteemed Majorian, was persuaded by his friends, to celebrate, in heroic verse, the merit, the felicity, the second consulsing, and the future triumphs of the emperor Anthemius. Sidonius pronounced, with assurance and success, a panegyric which is still extant; and whatever might be the impersections, either of the subject or of the composition, the welcome flatterer was immediately rewarded with

(73) The poet again celebrates the unanimity of all orders of the state (15-22.): and the Chronicle of Idatius mentions the forces which attended his march.

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⁽⁷⁴⁾ Interveni autem nuptus Patricii Ricimeris, cui filia perennis Augusti in spem publicæ securitatis copulabatur. The journey of Sidonius from Lyons, and the sessival of Rome, are described with some spirit. L. i. epist. 5. p. 9—13. Epist. 9. p. 21.

the præfecture of Rome; a dignity which placed him among the illustrious personages of the empire, till he wisely preferred the more respectable

character of a bishop and saint (75).

The Greeks ambitiously commend the piety The festiand catholic faith of the emperor whom they val of the gave to the West; nor do they forget to observe, that when he left Constantinople, he converted his palace into the pious foundation of a public bath, a church, and an hospitable for old men (76). Yet some suspicious appearances are found to fully the theological fame of Anthemius. From the conversation of Philotheus, a Macedonian fectary, he had imbibed the spirit of religious toleration; and the H-retics of Rome would have affembled with impunity, if the bold and vehement confure which pope Hilary pronounced in the church of St. Peter, had not obliged him to abjure the unpopular indulgence (77). Even the Pagans, a feeble and obscure remnant, conceived fome vain hopes from the indifference, or partiality, of Anthemius; and his singular friendship for the philosopher Severus, whom he promoted to the confulfhip; was afcribed to a fecret proiect

(75) Sidonius (l. i. epist. 9. p. 23, 24.) very fairly states his motive, his labour, and his reward. "He apse Panegyrous, si ron judicium, certe eventum, boni operis, accepit." He was made bishop of Clermont, A. D. 471. Talemont, Mem. Ecceles. tom. xvi. p. 750.

(76) The palace of Anthemius stood on the banks of the Proports. In the uinth century, Alexius, the son-in-law of the emperor Theophilus, obtained perin sion to purchase the ground; and ended his days in a monatery which he founded on that deal ghtful spot. Ducange, Constantinopolis Christiana, p. 117.

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(77) Papa Hilarus... apud beatum Petrum Apostolum, palam ne id sieret clarâ voce constrinxit, in tantum ut non ea facienda cum interposit one juramenti idem promitteret Imperaor. Gelasius Epistol. ad Andronicum, apud Baron. A. D. 467. No. 3. The cardinal observes, with some complacency, that it was much easier to plant heresies at Constantinople, than at Rome.

ject, of reviving the ancient worship of the Gods These idols were crumbled into dust : and the mythology which had once been the creed of nations, was to univerfally difbelieved, that it might be employed without scandal, or at least without suspicion, by Christian poets (79). Yet the veftiges of superfittion were not absolutely obliterated, and the festival of the Lupercalia, whose origin had preceded the foundation of Rome, was still celebrated under the reign of Anthemius. The favage and fimple rites were expressive of an early state of society before the invention of arts and agriculture. The rustic deities who prefided over the toils and pleafures of the paftoral life, Pan, Faunus, and their train of fatyrs, were fuch as the fancy of fhepherds might create, sportive, petulant, and lascivious; whose power was limited, and whose malice was inoffensive. A goat was the offering the best adapted to their character and attributes; the flesh of the victim was roafted on willow spits; and the riotous youths, who crowded to the feaft, ran naked about the fields, with leather thongs in their hands, communicating, as it was supposed, the bleffing of fecundity to the women whom they touched (80). The altar of Pan was erect-

Photium, p. 1049. Damascius, who lived under Justinian, composed another work, consisting of 570 præternatural stories of souls, dæmons, apparitions, the dotage of Platonic Paganism.

(79) In the poetical works of Sidonius, which he afterwards condemned (1. ix. epift. 16. p. 285.), the fabulous deities are the principal actors. If Jerom was fourged by the angels for only reading Virgil; the bishop of Clermont, for such a vile mitation, deserved an additional whipping from the muses.

(80) Ovid (Fast. I. ii. 267-452.) has given an amusing description of the follies of ant quity, which still inspired to much respect, that a grave magnificate, running naked through the streets,

was not an object of astonishment or laughter.

ed, perhaps by Evander the Arcadian, in a dark recess in the fide of the Palatine hill, watered by a perpetual fountain, and shaded by an hanging grove. A tradition, that, in the fame place, Romulus and Remus were fuckled by the wolf. rendered it still more facred and venerable in the eyes of the Romans; and this sylvan spot was gradually furrounded by the stately edifices of the Forum (81). After the conversion of the Imperial city, the Christians still continued, in the month of February, the annual celebration of the Lupercalia; to which they ascribed a secret and mysterious influence on the genial powers of the animal and vegetable world. The bishops of Rome were folicitous to abolish a profane custom. fo repugnant to the spirit of Christianity; but their zeal was not supported by the authority of the civil magistrate: the inveterate abuse subfifted till the end of the fifth century, and pope Gelasius, who purified the capital from the last stain of idolatry, appealed, by a formal apology, the murmurs of the fenate and people (82).

In all his public declarations, the emperor Leo Preparatiaffumes the authority, and professes the affection, one against
of a father, for his son Anthemius, with whom the Vanhe had divided the administration of the universe frica,
(84) The situation, and perhaps the character, A. D. 468.
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(81) See Dionys. Halicarn. l. i. p. 25. 65. edit. Hudson. The Roman Antiquaries, Donatus, (l. ii. c. 18. p. 173, 174.) and Nardini (p. 386, 387.), have laboured to ascertain the true situation of the Lupercal.

(82) Bironius published, from the MSS, of the Vatican, this epittle of pope Gelasius (A. D. 496. No. 28—45.), which is entitled Adversus Andromachum Senatorem, cætoroique Romanos, qui Lupercalia secundum morem pristinum colenda constituebant. Gelasius always supposes that his adversaries are nominal Christians, and that he may not yield to them in absurd prejudice, he imputes to this harmless festival, all the calamities of the age.

(83) Itaque nos quibus totius mundi regimen committ superna

of Leo, dissuaded him from exposing his person to the toils and dangers of an African war. the powers of the Eastern empire were strenuously exerted to deliver Italy and the Mediterranean from the Vandals; and Genferic, who had fo long oppressed both the land and sea, was threatened from every fide with a formidable invafion. The campaign was opened by a bold and fuccessful enterprise of the præfect Heraclius (84). The troops of Egypt, Thebais, and Libya, were embarked under his command: and the Arabs, with a train of horses and camels, opened the roads of the de-Heraclius landed on the coast of Tripoli, furprised and subdued the cities of that province, and prepared, by a laborious march, which Cato had formerly executed (85), to join the Imperial army under the walls of Carthage. The intelligence of this loss extorted from Genseric, some infidious and ineffectual propositions of peace: but he was still more feriously alarmed by the reconciliation of Marcellinus with the two empires, The independent patrician had been perfuaded to acknowledge the legitimate title of Anthemius,

provisio... Pius et triumphator semper Augustus filius noster Anthemius, licet Divina Majestas et nostra creatio pietati ejus plenam Imperii commiserit potestatem, &c.... Such is the dignisted style of Leo, whom Anthemius respectfully names, Dominus et Pater meus Princeps sacratissimus Leo. See Novell. Anthem. t.t. ii. iii. p. 38. ad calcem Cod. Theod.

(84) The expedition of Heraclius is clouded with difficulties (Tillemont. Hilt. des. Emper. tom. vi. p. 640.), and it requires some dexterity to use the circumstances afforded by Theophanes, without injury to the more respectable evidence of Procopius.

(85) The march of Cato from Berenice, in the province of Cyrene, was much longer than that of Heraclius from Tripoli. He passed the deep sandy desert in thirty days, and it was found necessary to provide, besides the ordinary supplies, a great number of skins filled with water, and several Psylli, who were supposed to possess the art of sucking the wounds which had been made by the serpents of their native country. See Plutarch in Caton. Uticens. tom. iv. p. 275. Strabon. Geograph. l. xvii. p. 1193.

whom he accompanied in his journey to Rome; the Dalmatian fleet was received into the harbours of Italy: the active valour of Marcellinus expelled the Vandals from the illand of Sardinia; and the languid efforts of the West added some weight to the immense preparations of the Eastern Romans. The expence of the naval armament, which Leo fent against the Vandals, has been diffinctly afcertained; and the curious and instructive account displays the wealth of the declining empire. The royal demesses, or private patrimony of the prince, supplied seventeen thousand pounds of gold; forty-seven thoufand pounds of gold, and feven hundred thousand of filver, were levied and paid into the treasury by the Prætorian præfects. But the cities were reduced to extreme poverty; and the diligent calculation of fines and forfeitures, as a valuable object of the revenue, does not fuggeft the idea of a just, or merciful, administration. The whole expence, by whatfoever means it was defrayed, of the African campaign, amounted to the fum of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds of gold, about five millions two hundred thousand pounds sterling, at a time when the value of money appears, from the comparative price of corn, to have been somewhat higher than in the prefent age (86). The fleet that failed from Conflantinople to Carthage, confifted of eleven hundred and thirteen ships, and the number of foldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred

⁽⁸⁶⁾ The principal sum is clearly expressed by Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. vi. p. 191.); the sinalter constituent parts, which Tillemont (Hist. des Empereurs, tom. vi. p. 396.) has laboriously collected from the Byzantine writers, are less certain, and less important. The historian Malchus laments the public misery (Excerpt. ex Suida in Corp. Hist. Byzant. p. 58.); but he is surely unjust, when he charges Leo with hoarding the treasures which he extorted from the people.

thousand men. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress Vorina, was entrusted with this important command. He sister, the wife of Leo, had exaggerated the merit of his former exploits against the Scythians. But the discovery of his guilt, or incapacity, was reserved for the African war; and his friends could only save his military reputation, by asserting, that he had conspired with Aspar to spare Genseric, and to betray the last hope of the Western empire.

Failure of the expedi-

Experience has shewn, that the success of an invader most commonly depends on the vigour and celerity of his operations. The strength and sharpness of the first impression are blunted by delay; the health and spirit of the troops infensibly languish in a distant climate; the naval and military force, a mighty effort which perhaps can never be repeated, is filently confumed; and every hour that is wasted in negociation, accustoms the enemy to contemplate and examine those hostile terrors, which, on their first appearance, he deemed irrefistible. The formidable navy of Bafilifcus purfued its prosperous navigation from the Thracian Bosphorus to the coast of Africa, He landed his troops at Cape Bona, or the promontory of Mercury, about forty miles from Carthage (87). The army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, either joined or seconded the Imperial lieutenant; and the Vandals, who oppofed his progress by sea or land, were successively vanquished (88). If Basiliscus had seized the moment

(%7) This promontory is forty miles from Carthage (Procop. 1. i. c. 6. p. 192.), and twenty leagues from Sicily (Shaw's Travels, p. 89.). Scipio landed farther in the bay, at the fair promontory; see the animated description of Livy, xxix. 26, 27.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Theophanes (p. 100.) affirms that many ships of the Vandals were sunk. The affertion of Jornandes (de Successione Regn.), that Basiliscus attacked Carthage, must be understood in a very qualified sense.

moment of consternation, and boldly advanced to the capital, Carthage must have surrendered, and the kingdom of the Vandals was exringuish-Genferic beheld the danger with firmness, and eluded it with his veteran dexterity. protested, in the most respectful language, that he was ready to submit his person, and his dominions, to the will of the emperor; but he requested a truce of five days to regulate the terms of his fubmillion; and it was univerfally believed, that his fecret liberality contributed to the fuccess of this public negociation. Instead of obstinately refusing whatever indulgence his enemy so earneftly folicited, the guilty, or the credulous, Bafilifcus confented to the fatal truce; and his imprudent fecurity feemed to proclaim, that he already confidered himself as the conqueror of During this short interval, the wind became favourable to the defigns of Genferic. manned his largest ships of war with the bravest of the Moors and Vandals; and they towed after them many large barks, filled with combustible materials. In the obscurity of the night, these destructive vessels were impelled against the unguarded and unsuspecting fleet of the Romans, who were awakened by the fense of their instant Their close and crowded order affifted the progress of the fire, which was communicated with rapid and irrefiftible violence; and the noise of the wind, the crackling of the flames, the diffonant cries of the foldiers and mariners, who could neither command, nor obey, increased the horror of the nocturnal tumult. Whilft they laboured to extricate themselves from the fire-ships, and to fave at least a part of the navy, the gallies of Genseric affaulted them with temperate and disciplined valour; and many of the Romans,

who escaped the fury of the flames, were destroyed or taken by the victorious Vandals. Among the events of that disaftrous night, the heroic, or rather desperate, courage of John, one of the principal officers of Basiliscus, has rescued his name from oblivion. When the ship, which he had bravely defended, was almost consumed, he threw himself in his armour into the sea, disdainfully rejected the efteem and pity of Genfo, the fon of Genseric, who pressed him to accept honourable quarter, and funk under the waves; exclaiming with his last breath, that he would never fall alive into the hands of those impious Actuated by a far different spirit, Basiliscus, whose station was the most remote from danger, difgracefully fled in the beginning of the engagement, returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half of his fleet and army, and sheltered his guilty head in the sanctuary of St. Sophia, till his fifter, by her tears and entreaties, could obtain his pardon from the indignant emperor. Heraclius effected his retreat through the defert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was affaffinated, perhaps at the inftigation of Ricimer, by one of his own captains; and the king of the Vandals expressed his surprise and satisfaction, that the Romans themselves should remove from the world his most formidable antagonists After the failure of this great expedition, (89).Genseric again became the tyrant of the sea: the coasts of Italy, Greece, and Asia, were again exposed to his revenge and avarice; Tripoli and Sardinia returned to his obedience; he added Sicily to the number of his provinces; and, before

⁽⁸⁹⁾ Damascius in Vit. Isidor. apud Phot. p. 1048. It will appear, by comparing the three short chronicles of the times, that Marcellinus had sought near Carthage, and was killed in Sicily.

he died, in the fulness of years and of glory, he A. D. 477. beheld the final extinction of the empire of the

West (90). During his long and active reign, the African Conquests monarch had fludiously cultivated the friendship of the Viof the Barbarians of Europe, whose arms he spain and might employ in a feasonable and eff ctual diver- Gaul, fion against the two empires. After the death of A. D. 462 Attila, he renewed his alliance with the Visigoths -472. of Gaul; and the fons of the elder Theodoric, who fuccessively reigned over that warlike nation, were eafily perfuaded, by the fense of interest, to forget the cruel affront which Genferic had inflicted on their fifter (91). The death of the emperor Majorian delivered Theodoric the second from the restraint of fear, and perhaps of honour; he violated his recent treaty with the Romans; and the ample territory of Narbonne, which he firmly united to his dominions, became the immediate reward of his perfidy. The felfish policy of Ricimer encouraged him to invade the provinces which were in the possession of Ægidius, his rival; but the active count, by the defence of Arles, and the victory of Orleans, faved Gaul, and checked, during his life-time, the progress of the Visigoths. Their ambition was soon rekindled; and the defign of extinguishing the

⁽⁹⁰⁾ For the African war, see Procopius (de Bell. Vandal. l, i. c. 6. p. 191, 192, 193.), Theophanes (p. 99, 100, 101.), Cedrenus (p. 349, 350.), and Zonaras (tom. ii. l. xiv. p. 50, 51.). Montesquieu (Considerations sur la Grandeur, &c. c. xx. tom. iii. p. 497.) has made a judicious observation on the failure of these great naval armaments.

⁽⁹¹⁾ Jornandes is our best guide through the reigns of Theodoric II. and Euric (de Rebus Geticis, c. 44, 45, 46, 47. p. 675—681.). Idatius ends too soon, and Isidore is too sparing of the information which he might have given on the affairs of Spain. The events that relate to Gaul are laboriously illustrated in the third book of the Abbe Dubos, Hist. Critique, tom. i. p. 424—620.

Roman empire in Spain and Gaul, was conceived, and almost completed, in the reign of Euric, who affaffinated his brother Theodoric, and displayed, with a more savage temper, superior abilities, both in peace and war. He passed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous army, subdued the cities of Saragossa and Pampeluna, vanquished in battle the martial robles of the Tarragonese province, carried his victorious arms into the heart of Lustania, and permitted the Suevi to hold the kingdom of Gallicia under the Gothic monarchy of Spain (92). The efforts of Euric were not less vigorous, or less successful, in Gaul; and throughout the country that extends from the Pyrenees to the Rhône and the Loire, Berry, and Auvergne, were the only cities, or dioceses, which refused to acknowledge him as their matter (93). In the defence of Clermont, their principal town, the inhabitants of Auvergne fullamed, with inflexible resolution, the miseries of war, postitence, and famine; and the Visigoths, relinquishing the fruitless siege, suspended the hopes of that in portant conquest. youth of the province were animated by the heroic, and almost incredible, valour of Ecdicius, the fon of the emperor Avitus (94), who made a desperate fally with only eighteen horsemen, boldly attacked the Gothic army, and, after maintaining a fiving skirmish, retired safe and victorious within the walls of Clermont. His charity

(92) See Mariana, Hist. Hispan. tom. i. l. v. c. 5. p. 162.

⁽⁹³⁾ An imperfect, but original, picture of Gaul, more especially of Anvergne, is shewn by Sidonius; who, as a senator, and afterwards as a bishop, was deeply interested in the sate of his country. See I. v. epist. 1. 5. 9, &c.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Sidonius, I. iii. epitt. 3. p. 65—68. Greg. Turon. I. ii. s. 24. in tom. ii. p. 174. Jornandes, c. 45. p. 675. Perhaps Ecdicius was only the fon in-law of Avitus, his wife's fon by another husband.

was equal to his courage: in a time of extreme fearcity, four thousand poor were fed at his expence; and his private influence levied an army of Burgundians for the deliverance of Auvergne. From bis virtues alone the faithful citizens of Gaul derived any hopes of fafety or freedom; and even such virtues were insufficient to avert the impending ruin of their country, fince they were anxious to learn from his authority, and example, whether they should prefer the alternative of exile, or fervitude (95). The public confidence was loft; the resources of the state were exhausted; and the Gauls had too much reason to believe, that Anthemius, who reigned in Italy, was incapable of protecting his diffressed subjects beyond the Alps. The feeble emperor could only procure for their defence the fervice of twelve thousand British auxiliaries. Riothamus, one of the independent kings, or chieftains, of the island, was perfuaded to transport his troops to the continent of Gaul: he failed up the Loice, and establish d his quarters in Berry, where the people complained of these oppressive allies, till they were deftroyed, or dispersed, by the arms of the Vingoths (96).

One of the last acts of jurisdiction, which the Trial of Roman senate exercised over their subjects of Arvandus, Gaul. A. D. 468.

⁽⁹⁵⁾ Si nullæ a republicâ vires, nulla præsidia, si nullæ, quantum rumor est, Anthemii principis opes, statuit, te auctore, nobilitas seu patriam dimittere seu capillos (Sidon. 1. ii. ep st. 1. p. 33.). The last words (S. rmond Not. p. 25.) may likewise denote the clerical tonsure, which was indeed the choice of Sidonius himself.

⁽⁹⁶⁾ The h story of these Britons may be traced in Jornandes (c. 45. p. 678.), Sidonius (l. iii. epistol. 9. p. 73, 74.), and Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.). Sidonius (who styles these mercenary troops argutos, armatos, tumultuosos, virtute, numero, contubernio, contumaces) addresses their general in a tone of friendship and familiarity.

Gaul, was the trial and condemnation of Arvandus, the Piætorian præfect. Sidonius, who rejoices that he lived under a reign in which he might pity and affift a state criminal, has expresfed, with tenderness and freedom, the faults of his indifcreet and unfortunate friend (97). From the perils which he had escaped, Arvandus imbibed confidence rather than wildom; and fuch was the various, though unform, imprudence of his behaviour, that his prosperity must appear much more furprifing than his downfal. The fecond præfecture, which he obtained within the term of five years, abolified the merit and popularity of his preceding administration. His eafy temper was corrupted by flattery, and exasperated by opposition; he was forced to satisfy his importunate creditors with the spoils of the province; his capricious insolence offended the nobles of Gaul, and he funk under the weight of the public hatred. The mandate of his difgrace fummoned him to justify his conduct before the fenate; and he passed the sea of Tuscany with a favourable wind, the presage, as he vainly imagined, of his future fortunes. A decent respect was still observed for the Præfectorian rank; and on his arrival at Rome, Arvandus was committed to the hospitality, rather than to the custody, of Flavius Afellus, the count of the facred largeffes. who refided in the Capitol (98). His was eagerly purfued by his accusers, the four deputies of Gaul.

(97) See Sidonius, I. i. epift. 7. p. 15-20, with Sirmond's notes. This letter does honour to his leart, as well as to his understanding. The profe of Sidonius, however vitiated by a false and affected taste, is much superior to his insipid verses.

⁽⁹⁸⁾ When the Capitol ceased to be a temple, it was appropriated to the use of the civil magistrate; and it is still the residence of the Roman senator. The jewellers, &c. might be allowed to expose their precious wares in the porticoes.

Gaul, who were all diffinguished by their birth. their dignities, or their eloquence In the name of a great province, and according to the forms of Roman jurisprudence, they instituted a civil and criminal action, requiring such restitution as might compensate the losses of individuals, and fuch punishment as might satisfy the justice of the Their charges of corrupt oppression were numerous and weighty; but they placed their fecret dependence on a letter, which they had intercepted, and which they could prove, by the evidence of his fecretary, to have been dictated by Arvandus himself. The author of this letter feemed to diffuade the king of the Goths from a peace with the Greek emperor: he fuggested the attack of the Britons on the Loire; and he recommended a division of Gaul, according to the law of nations, between the Vifigoths and the Burgundians (99). These pernicious schemes, which a friend could only palliate by the reproaches of vanity and indifcretion, were susceptible of a treafonable interpretation; and the deputies had artfully resolved, not to produce their most formidable weapons till the decifive moment of the contest. But their intentions were discovered by the zeal of Sidonius. He immediately apprifed the unfulpecting criminal of his danger; and fincerely lamented, without any mixture of anger, the haughty prefumption of Arvandus, who rejected, and even refented, the falutary advice of his friends. Ignorant of his real fituation, Arvandus shewed himself in the Capitol in the white robe of a candidate, accepted indifcriminate fa-

⁽⁹⁹⁾ Hæc ad regem Gothorum, charta videbatur emitti, pacem eum Græco Imperatore d'sfluadens, Britannos super Ligerim sitos impugnari opportere demonstrans, cum Burgundionibus jure gentium Gallias dividi debere confirmans.

lutations and offers of fervice, examined the shops of the merchants, the filks and gems, sometimes with the indifference of a spectator, and fometimes with the attention of a purchaser; and complained of the times, of the fenate, of the prince, and of the delays of justice. His complaints were foon removed An early day was fixed for his trial; and Arvandus appeared with his accufers, before a numerous affembly of the Roman fenate. The mournful garb, which they affected, excited the compassion of the judges, who were fcandalized by the gay and splendid dress of their adversary; and when the præsect Arvandus, with the first of the Gallic deputies. were directed to take their places on the fenatorial benches, the same contrast of pride and modefly was observed in their behaviour. In this memorable judgment, which prefented a lively image of the old republic, the Gauls exposed, with force and freedom, the grievances of the province; and as foon as the minds of the audience were fufficiently inflamed, they recited the fatal epiftle. The obstinacy of Arvandus was founded on the strange supposition, that a subject could not be convicted of treason, unless he had actually conspired to assume the purple. As the paper was read, he repeatedly, and with a loud voice, acknowledged it for his genuine composition; and his aftonishment was equal to his dismay, when the unanimous voice of the fenate declared him guilty of a capital offence. By their decree, he was degraded from the rank of a præfect to the obscure condition of a plebeian, and ignominiously dragged by fervile hands to the public prison. After a fortnight's adjournment, the fenate was again convened to pronounce the fentence of his death: but while he expected, in

the island of Æsculapius, the expiration of the thirty days allowed by an ancient law to the vileft malefactors (100), his friends interposed, the emperor Anthemius relented, and the præfect of Gaul obtained the milder punishment of exile and confiscation. The faults of Arvandus might deferve compassion; but the impunity of Seronatus accused the justice of the republic, till he was condemned, and executed, on the complaint of the people of Auvergne. That flagitious minister, the Catiline of his age and count y, held a fecret correspondence with the Visigoths, to betray the province which he oppressed: his industry was continually exercised in the discovery of new taxes and obfolete offences; and his extravagant vices would have inspired contempt, if they had not excited fear and abhorrence (101).

Such criminals were not beyond the reach of Discord of justice; but, whatever might be the guilt of Anthemius Ricimer, that powerful Barbarian was able to mer, contend or to negociate with the prince, whose A. D. 4710 alliance he had condescended to accept. The peaceful and prosperous reign which Anthemius had promised to the West, was soon clouded by misfortune and discord. Ricimer, apprehensive, or impatient, of a superior, retired from Rome, and fixed his residence at Milan; an advantageous situation, either to invite, or to repel, the warlike tribes that were seated between the Alps and

but that law allowed only ten days between the fentence and execution; the remaining twenty were added in the reign of Theodofius.

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ Catilina seculi nostri. Sidonius, l. ii. epist. 1. p. 33. 1. v. epist. 13. p. 143.; l. vii. epist. 7. p. 185. He execrates the crimes, and applauds the punishment, of Seronatus, perhaps with the indignation of a virtuous citizen, perhaps with the resentment of a personal enemy.

and the Danube (102). Italy was gradually divided into two independent and hostile kingdoms; and the nobles of Liguria, who trembled at the near approach of a civil war, fell proftrate at the feet of the patrician, and conjured him to spare their unhappy country. "For my own part," replied Ricimer, in a tone of infolent moderation, " I am flill inclined to embrace the " friendship of the Galatian (103); but who will " undertake to appeale his anger, or to mitigate " the pride, which always rifes in proportion to our submission?" They informed him, that Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia (104), united the wildom of the ferpent with the innocence of the dove; and appeared confident, that the eloquence of fuch an ambaffador must prevail against the strongest opposition, either of interest or passion. Their recommendation was approved; and Epiphanius, assuming the benevolent office of mediation, proceeded without delay to Rome, where he was received with the honours due to his merit and reputation. The oration of a bishop in favour of peace, may be eafily supposed: he argued, that, in all possible circumstances, the forgiveness of injuries must be an act of mercy, or magnanimity, or prudence; and he ferioufly admonished

(102) Ricimer, under the reign of Anthemius, defeated and flew in batt'e Beorgor, king of the Alani (Jornandes, c. 45. p. 678.). His fifter had married the king of the Burgundians, and he maintained an intimate connection with the Suevic colony established in Pannonia and Noricum.

(103) Galatam concitatum. Sirmond (in his notes to Ennodius) applies this appellation to Anthemius himself. The emperor was probably born in the province of Galatia, whose inhabitants, the Gallo-Grecians, were supposed to unite the vices of a savage, and

a corrupted, people.

(104) Epiphanius was thirty years bishop of Pavia (A. D. 469—497; iee Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 788.). His name and actions would have been unknown to posterity, if Ennod us, one of his successors, had not written his life (Sirmond, Opera, tom. i. 1647—1692.); in which he represents him as one of the greatest characters of the age.

monished the emperor to avoid a contest with a fierce Barbarian, which might be fatal to himfelf. and must be ruinous to his dominions. Anthemius acknowledged the truth of his maxims; but he deeply felt, with grief and indignation, the behaviour of Ricimer; and his passion gave eloquence and energy to his discourse. " favours," he warmly exclaimed, " have we "refused to this ungrateful man? What pro-" vocations have we not endured? Regardless " of the majesty of the purple, I gave my " daughter to a Goth; I facrificed my own blood " to the fafety of the republic. The liberality " which ought to have fecured the eternal attach-" ment of Ricimer, has exasperated him against " his benefactor. What wars has he not excited " against the empire? How often has he insti-" gated and affifted the fury of hostile nations? " Shall I now accept his perfidious friendship? " Can I hope that he will respect the engagements " of a treaty, who has already violated the du-" ties of a fon?" But the anger of Anthemius evaporated in these passionate exclamations: he infenfibly yielded to the proposals of Epiphanius; and the bishop returned to his diocese with the fatisfaction of reftoring the peace of Italy, by a reconciliation (105), of which the fincerity and continuance might be reasonably suspected. The clemency of the emperor was extorted from his weakness; and Ricimer suspended his ambitious defigns, till he had fecretly prepared the engines, with which he resolved to subvert the throne of The mask of peace and moderation Anthemius.

⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ Ennodius (p. 1659—1664.) has related this embifiy of Epiphanius; and his narrative, verbole and turgid as it must appear, illustrates some curious passages in the fall of the Western empire.

was then thrown afide. The army of Ricimer was fortified by a numerous reinforcement of Burgundians and Oriental Suevi: he disclaimed all allegiance to the Greek emperor, marched from Milan to the gates of Rome, and fixing his camp on the banks of the Anio, impatiently expected the arrival of Olybrius, his Imperial candidate.

Olybrius emperor of the Weff,

The fenator Olybrius, of the Anician family, might efteem himself the lawful heir of the A. D. 472, Western empire. He had married Placidia, the March 23. younger daughter of Valentinian, after the was restored by Genseric; who still detained her lister Eudoxia, as the wife, or rather as the captive, of his fon. The king of the Vandals supported, by threats and folicitations, the fair pretenfions of his Roman ally; and affigued, as one of the motives of the war, the refusal of the senate and people to acknowledge their lawful prince, and the unworthy preference which they had given to a stranger (106). The friendship of the public enemy might render Olybrius still more unpopular to the Italians; but when Ricimer meditated the ruin of the emperor Anthemius, he tempted with the offer of a diadem the candidate who could justify his rebellion by an illustrious name, and a royal alliance. The husband of Placidia, who, like most of his ancestors, had been invested with the confular dignity, might have continued to enjoy a fecure and splendid fortune in the peaceful residence of Constantinople; nor does he appear to have been tormented by such a genius, as cannot be amused or occupied, unless

⁽¹⁰⁶⁾ Priscus Excerpt. Legation. p. 74. Procopius de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 6. p. 191. Eudoxia and her daughter were re-stored after the death of Majorian. Perhaps the consulthip of Olybrius (A. D. 464.) was bestowed as a nuptial present.

by the administration of an empire. Yet Olybrius yielded to the importunities of his friends. perhaps of his wife; rashly plunged into the dangers and calamities of a civil war; and, with the fecret connivance of the emperor Leo, accepted the Italian purple, which was bestowed, and refumed, at the capricious will of a Barbarian. He landed without obstacle (for Genseric was master of the sea) either at Ravenna or the port of Oftia, and immediately proceeded to the camp of Ricimer, where he was received as the fove-

reign of the Western world (107).

The patrician, who had extended his posts from Sack of the Anio to the Milvian bridge, already poffeffed Rome, and death of two quarters of Rome, the Vatican and the Jani-Antheculum, which are separated by the Tyber from mius, the rest of the city (108); and it may be conjec-A.D. 472, tured, that an affembly of feceding fenators imitated, in the choice of Olybrius, the forms of a legal election. But the body of the fenate and people firmly adhered to the cause of Anthemius; and the more effectual support of a Gothic army enabled him to prolong his reign, and the public diffress, by a refistance of three months, which Vol. VI.-F produced

(107) The hostile appearance of Olybrius is fixed (notwithstanding the opinion of Pagi) by the duration of his reign. The fecret connivance or Leo is acknowledged by Theophanes, and the Paschal Chronicle. We are ignorant of his motives; but, in this obscure period, our ignorance extends to the most public and

important facts.

(108) Of the fourteen regions, or quarters, into which Rome was divided by Augustus, only one, the Janiculum, lay on the Tuscan side of the Tyber. But, in the fifth century, the Vatican fuburb formed a confiderable city; and in the ecclefiaftical diffribution, which had been recently made by Simplicius, the reigning pope, two of the feven regions, or parishes, of Rome, depended on the church of St. Peter. See Nardini Roma Antica, p. 67. It would require a tedious differtation to mark the circumstances, in which I declined to depart from the topography of that learned Roman.

produced the concomitant evils of famine and pestilence. At length. Ricimer made a furious affault on the bridge of Hadrian, or St. Angelo: and the narrow pass was defended with equal valour by the Goths, till the death of Gilimer their The victorious troops breaking down every barrier, rushed with irrefistible violence into the heart of the city, and Rome (if we may use the language of a contemporary Pope) was subverted by the civil fury of Anthemius and Ricimer (100). The unfortunate Anthemius was dragged from his concealment, and inhumanly maffacred by the command of his fon-in-law: who thus added a third, or perhaps a fourth, emperor to the number of his victims. The foldiers, who united the rage of factious citizens with the favage manners of Barbarians, were indulged, without controul, in the licence of rapine and murder: the crowd of flaves and plebeians, who were unconcerned in the event, could only gain by the indifcriminate pillage; and the face of the city exhibited the strange contrast of stern cruelty, and dissolute intemperance (110). Forty days after this calamitous event, the fub-August 20, ject, not of glory, but of guilt, Italy was delivered, by a painful disease, from the tyrant Ricimer, who bequeathed the command of his army

Death of

(109) Nuper Anthemii et Ricimeris civili surore subversa est, Gelatius in Epitt. ad Andremach. apud Baron. A. D. 496. No. 42. Sigonius (10m. i. l. xiv. de Occidentali Imperio, p. 542, 543.) and Muratori (Annali d'Italia, tom. iv. p. 308, 309.), with the aid of a less imperfect MS. of the Historia Miscella, have illustrated this dark and bloody transaction.

to

(110) Such had been the, izva ac deformis urbe tota facies, when Rome was affaulted and flormed by the troops of Vefpafian (see Tacit. Hist. in. 82, 83.); and every cause of mischief had fince acquired much additional energy. The revolution of ages may bring round the same calamities; but ages may revolve, without producing a Tacitus to describe them.

to his nephew Gundobald, one of the princes of the Burgundians. In the same year, all the principal actors in this great revolution, were removed from the stage; and the whole reign of Oly-and of brius, whose death does not betray any symptoms Oct. 23. of violence, is included within the term of seven months. He left one daughter, the offspring of his marriage with Placidia; and the samily of the great Theodosius, transplanted from Spain to Constantinople, was propagated in the semale line as far as the eighth generation (111).

Whilft the vacant throne of Italy was aban-Julius doned to lawless Barbarians (112), the election of Nepos and Glycerius a new colleague was feriously agitated in the emperors council of Leo. The empress Verina, studious of the to promote the greatness of her own family, had A.D. 472 married one of her nieces to Julius Nepos, who -475. fucceeded his uncle Marcellinus in the fovereignty of Dalmatia, a more folid possession than the title which he was perfuaded to accept, of Emperor of the West. But the measures of the Byzantine court were so languid and irresolute, that many months elapsed after the death of Anthemius, and even of Olybrius, before their destined successor could shew himself, with a respectable force, to his Italian subjects. During that interval, Glycerius, an obscure soldier, was invested with the purple by his patron Gundobald; but the Burgundian prince was unable, or

(111) See Ducange, Familiæ Byzantin. p. 74, 75. Areobindus, who appears to have married the niece of the emperor Justinian, was the eight descendant of the elder Theodosius.

unwilling,

marked in Theophanes (p. 102.), Jordandes (c. 45. p. 679.), the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Fragments of an anonymous writer, published by Valefius at the end of Ammianus (p. 716, 717.). If Photius had not been so wretchedly concise, we should derive much information from the contemporary histories of Malshus and Candidus. See his extracts, p. 172-179.

unwilling, to support his nomination by a civil war: the pursuits of domestic ambition recalled him beyond the Alps (113), and his client was permitted to exchange the Roman sceptre for the bishopric of Salona. After extinguishing such a competitor, the emperor Nepos was acknowledged by the fenate, by the Italians, and by the provincials of Gaul; his moral virtues, and military talents, were loudly celebrated; and those who derived any private benefit from his government, announced, in prophetic strains, the restoration of the public felicity (114). Their hopes (if fuch hopes had been entertained) were confounded within the term of a fingle year; and the treaty of peace, which ceded Auvergne to the Vifigoths, is the only event of his fhort and inglorious reign. The most faithful subjects of Gaul were facrificed, by the Italian emperor, to the hope of domestic security (115); but his repose was soon invaded by a furious sedition of the Barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, their general, were in full march from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos trembled at their approach; and, instead of placing a just confidence in the strength of Ravenna, he hastily escaped to his ships, and retired to his Dalmatian prin-

(113) See Greg. Turon. 1. ii. c. 28. in tom. ii. p. 175. Dubos, Hift. Critique, tom. i. p. 613. By the murder, or death, of his two brothers, Gundobald acquired the fole possession of the kingdom of Burgundy, whose rum was hastened by their discord.

(114) Julius Nepos armis pariter fummus Augustus ac moribus. Sidonius, I. v. ep. 16. p. 146. Nepos had given to Ecdicius the title of Patrician, which Anthemius had promised, decessoris Anthemei sidem absolvit. See I. viii. ep. 7. p. 224.

(115) Epiphantus was fent ambassador from Nepos to the Visigoths, for the purpose of ascertaining the fines Imperii Italici (Ennodous in Simond, tom. i. p. 1665—1669.). His pathetic discourse concealed the disgraceful secret, which soon excited the just and bitter complaints of the bishop of Clermont, principality, on the opposite coast of the Hadriatic. By this snameful abdication, he protracted his life about five years, in a very ambiguous state, between an emperor and an exile, till he was assassinated at Salona by the ungrateful Glycerius, who was translated, perhaps as the reward of his crime, to the archbishopric of Milan (116).

The nations, who had afferted their independ-The patrience after the death of Attila, were established, tes, A. D. by the right of possession or conquest, in the 475. boundless countries to the north of the Danube; or in the Roman provinces between the river and the Alps. But the bravest of their youth enlisted in the army of confederates, who formed the defence and the terror of Italy (117); and in this promiseuous multitude, the names of the Heruli, the Scyrri, the Alani, the Turcilingi, and the Rugians, appear to have predominated. The example of these warriors was imitated by Orestes (118), the fon of Tatullus, and the father of the last Roman emperor of the West. Orestes, who has already been mentioned in this history, had never deferted his country. His birth and fortunes rendered him one of the most illustrious fubjects of Pannonia. When that province was ceded to the Huns, he entered into the service of

(116) Malchus, apud Phot. p. 172. Ennod. Epigram. Ixxxii. in Sirmond Oper. tom. i. p. 1879. Some doubt may however be raifed on the identity of the emperor and the archbishop.

(117) Our knowledge of these mercenaries, who subverted the Western empire, is derived from Procopius (de Bell. Gothico, l. i. c. i. p. 308.). The popular opinion, and the recent historians, represent Odoacer in the false light of a stranger, and a king, who invaded Italy with an army of foreigners, his native subjects.

(118) Orestes, qui eo tempore quando Attila ad Italiam venit, se illi junxit, et ejus notarius factus suerac. Anonym. Vales, p. 716. He is mistaken in the date; but we may credit his assertion, that the secretary of Attila was the father of Augustulus.

Attila, his lawful fovereign, obtained the office of his fecretary, and was repeatedly fent ambaffador to Constantinople, to represent the person, and fignify the commands, of the imperious mo-The death of that conqueror restored him to his freedom; and Orestes might honourably refuse either to follow the sons of Attila into the Scythian defert, or to obey the Ostrogoths, who had usurped the dominion of Pannonia. He preferred the fervice of the Italian princes, the fuccessors of Valentinian; and, as he possessed the qualifications of courage, industry, and experience, he advanced with rapid steps in the military profession, till he was elevated, by the favour of Nepos himself, to the dignities of patrician, and master-general of the troops. These troops had been long accustomed to reverence the character and authority of Orestes, who affected their manners, converfed with them in their own language, and was intimately connected with their national chieftains, by long habits of familiarity and friendship. At his solicitation they rose in arms against the obscure Greek, who presumed to claim their obedience; and when Orestes, from fome fecret motive, declined the purple, they confented, with the fame facility, to acknowledge his fon Augustulus, as the emperor of the West. By the abdication of Nepos, Orestes had now attained the fummit of his ambitious hopes; but last empe- he soon discovered, before the end of the first year, that the lessons of perjury and ingratitude, A.D. 476, which a rebel must inculcate, will be retorted against himself; and that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to chuse, whether he would be the flave, or the victim, of his Barba-The dangerous alliance of rian mercenaries. these strangers, had oppressed and insulted the last

His fon Augustulus, the ror of the Weft,

last remains of Roman freedom and dignity. At each revolution, their pay and privileges were augmented: but their infolence increased in a ftill more extravagant degree; they envied the fortune of their brethren in Gaul, Spain, and Africa, whose victorious arms had acquired an independent and perpetual inheritance; and they infifted on their peremptory demand, that a third part of the lands of Italy should be immediately divided among them. Orestes, with a spirit, which, in another lituation, might be entitled to our esteem, chose rather to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, than to subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He rejected the audacious demand; and his refusal was favourable to the ambition of Odoacer; a bold Barbarian, who affured his fellow-foldiers, that, if they dared to affociate under his command, they might foon extort the justice which had been denied to their dutiful petitions. From all the camps and garrifons of Italy, the confederates, actuated by the fame refentment and the fame hopes, impatiently flocked to the flandard of this popular leader; and the unfortunate patrician, overwhelmed by the torrent, haftily retreated to the ftrong city of Pavia, the episcopal seat of the holy Epiphanites. Pavia was immediately belieged, the fortifications were flormed, the town was pillaged; and although the bishop might labour, with much zeal and some success, to save the property of the church, and the chaftity of female captives, the tumult could only be appealed by the execution of Orestes (119). His brother Paul was slain in

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ See Ennodius (in Vit. Epiphan. Sirmond, tom. i. p. 1669, 1670.). He adds weight to the narrative of Procopius, though we may doubt whether the devil actually contrived the fiege of Pavia, to diffress the bishop and his flock.

an action near Ravenna; and the helpless Angustulus, who could no longer command the respect, was reduced to implore the clemency of Odoacer.

Odoacer king of Italy, A. D. 476

That successful Barbarian was the son of Edecon: who, in fome remarkable transactions, particularly described in a preceding chapter, had been the colleague of Orestes himself nour of an ambassador should be exempt from fuspicion; and Edecon had liftened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign. But this apparent guilt was expiated by his merit or repentance: his rank was eminent and conspicuous; he enjoyed the favour of Attila; and the troops under his command, who guarded, in their curn, the royal village, confifted of a tribe of Scyrri, his immediate and hereditary subjects. In the revolt of the nations, they still adhered to the Huns; and, more than twelve years afterwards, the name of Edecon is honourably mentioned, in their unequal contest with the Oftrogoths; which was terminated, after two bloody battles, by the defeat and dispersion of the Scyrri (120). Their gallant leader, who did not furvive this national calamity, left two fons, Onulf and Odoacer, to ftruggle with adverfity, and to maintain as they might, by rapine or fervice, the faithful followers of their exile. Onulf directed his towards Conftantinople, where he fullied, by the affaffination of a generous benefactor, the fame which he had acquired in arms. His brother Odoacer

⁽¹²⁰⁾ Jornandes, c. 53, 54. p. 692-695. M. de Buat (Hist. des Peuples de l'Europe, tom. viii. p. 221-228.) has clearly explained the origin and adventures of Odoacer. I am almost inclined to believe, that he was the same who pillaged Angers, and commanded a fleet of Saxon pirates on the ocean. Greg. Turon. 1. ii. c. 18. in tom. ii. p. 170.

Odoacer led a wandering life among the Barbarians of Noricum, with a mind and a fortune fuited to the most desperate adventures; and when he had fixed his choice, he pioufly vifited the cell of Severinus, the popular faint of the country, to folicit his approbation and bleffing. ness of the door would not admit the lofty stature of Odoacer: he was obliged to floop; but in that humble attitude the faint could discern the fymptoms of his future greatness; and addressing him in a prophetic tone, "Pursue" (said he) " your defign; proceed to Italy; you will foon " cast away this coarse garment of skins; and " your wealth will be adequate to the liberality " of your mind (121)." The Barbarian, whose daring spirit accepted and ratified the prediction. was admitted into the fervice of the Western empire, and foon obtained an honourable rank in His manners were gradually pothe guards. lished, his military skill was improved, and the confederates of Italy would not have elected him for their general, unless the exploits of Odoacer had established a high opinion of his courage and capacity (122). Their military acclamations faluted him with the title of king: but he abstained, during his whole reign, from the use of the purple and diadem (123), left he should offend

⁽¹²¹⁾ Vade ad Italiam, vade vilissimis nunc pellibus coopertis: fed multis cito plurima largiturus. Anonym. Vales. p. 717. He quotes the life of St. Severinus, which is extant, and contains much unknown and valuable history; it was composed by his disciple Eugippius (A. D. 511.) thirty years after his death. See Tillemont, Mem. Ecctes. tom. xvi. p. 168—181.

⁽¹²²⁾ Theophanes, who calls him a Goth, affirms, that he was educated, nurfed (τραφεντος), in Italy, (p. 102.), and as this strong expression will not bear a literal interpretation, it must be explained by long service in the Imperial guards.

⁽¹²³⁾ Nomen regis Odoacer astumpsit, cuin tamen neque pur-

those princes, whose subjects, by their accidental mix use, had formed the victorious army, which time and policy might infenfibly unite into a great nation.

Extinction of the Weitern empire, or A. D. 479.

Royalty was familiar to the Barbarians, and the submillive people of Italy was prepared to obey, without a murmur, the authority which A. D. 476, he should condescend to exercise as the vicegerent of the emperor of the West. But Odoacer had refolved to abolish that useless and expensive office; and fuch is the weight of antique prejudice. that it required some boldness and penetration to discover the extreme facility of the enterprise. The unfortunate Augustulus was made the instrument of his own disgrace; he signified his refignation to the fenate; and that affembly, in their last act of obedience to a Roman prince. still affected the spirit of freedom, and the forms of the constitution. An epistle was addressed, by their unanimous decree, to the emperor Zeno, the fon-in-law and fucceffor of Leo; who had lately been restored, after a short rebellion, to the Byzantine throne. They folemnly "disclaim the " necessity, or even the wish, of continuing any " longer the Imperial fuccession in Italy; fince, " in their opinion, the majesty of a sole monarch " is sufficient to pervade and protect, at the same " time, both the East and the West. In their " own name, and in the name of the people, " they confent that the feat of universal empire " shall be transferred from Rome to Constanti-" nople; and they basely renounce the right of " chufing their mafter, the only veftige that yet " remained of the authority which had given

> pura nec regalibus uteretur infignibus. Caffiodor. in Chron. A. D. 476. He feems to have affirmed the abitract title of a king, without applying it to any particular nation or country.

" laws to the world. The republic (they repeat " that name without a blush) might safely con-66 fide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; " and they humbly request, that the emperor " would invest him with the title of Patrician, " and the administration of the diocese of Italy." The deputies of the senate were received at Conflantinople with some marks of displeasure and indignation; and when they were admitted to the audience of Zeno, he sternly reproached them with their treatment of the two emperors, Anthemius and Nepos, whom the East had succesfively granted to the prayers of Italy. " first" (continued he) "you have murdered; "the fecond you have expelled: but the fecond " is still alive, and whilst he lives he is your law-" ful fovereign." But the prudent Zeno foon deserted the hopeless cause of his abdicated colleague. His vanity was gratified by the title of fole emperor, and by the statues erected to his honour in the feveral quarters of Rome; he entertained a friendly, though ambiguous, correfpondence with the patrician Odoacer; and he gratefully accepted the Imperial enfigns, the facred ornaments of the throne and palace, which the Barbarian was not unwilling to remove from the fight of the people (124).

In the space of twenty years since the death of Augustu-Valentinian, nine emperors had successively dis-lus is baappeared; and the son of Orestes, a youth re-nished to commended only by his beauty, would be the lan villaleast entitled to the notice of posterity, if his

reign.

(124) Malchus, whose loss excites our regret, has preserved (in Excerpt. Legat. p. 93.) this extraordinary embassy from the senate to Zeno. The anonymous fragment (p. 717.), and the extract from Candidus (apud Phot. p. 176.), are likewise of some use.

reign, which was marked by the extinction of the Roman empire in the West, did not leave a memorable Æra in the history of mankind (125). The patrician Orestes had married the daughter of Count Romulus, of Petovio, in Noricum: the name of Augustus, notwithstanding the jealoufy of power, was known at Aquileia as a familiar furname; and the appellations of the two great founders, of the city, and, of the monarchy, were thus strangely united in the last of their successors (126). The fon of Orestes assumed and difgraced the names of Romulus Augustus; but the first was corrupted into Momyllus, by the Greeks, and the fecond has been changed by the Latins into the contemptible diminutive Augustulus. The life of this inoffensive youth was spared by the generous clemency of Odoacer; who dismissed him, with his whole family, from the Imperial palace, fixed his annual allowance at fix thousand pieces of gold, and assigned the castle of Lucullus, in Campania, for the place of his exile or retirement (127). As foon

(125) The precise year in which the Western empire was extinguished, is not positively ascertained. The vulgar æra of A. D. 476, as pears to have the fanction of authentic chronicles. But the two dates assigned by Jornandes (c. 46. p. 680.), would delay that great event to the year 479: and though M. de Buat has overlooked his evidence, he produces (tom. viii. p. 261—288.) many collateral circumstances in support of the same opinion.

(126) See his medals in Ducange (Fam. Byzantin. p. 81.), Princus (Excerpt. Legat. p. 56.), Maffei Offervazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 314.). We may allege a famous and fimilar cafe. The meanest subjects of the Roman empire assumed the illustrious name of Patricius, which, by the conversion of Ireland, has been com-

municated to a whole nation.

(127) Ingrediens autem Ravennam deposuit Augustulum de regno, cujus infantiam misertus concessit ei sanguinem; et quia pulcher erar, tanem donavit ei reditum sex millia solidos, et miste cum intra Campaniam cum parentibus suis libere vivere. Anonym. Vales. p. 716. Jornandes says (c. 46. p. 680.), in Lucullano Campaniæ castello exilii poena damnavit.

as the Romans breathed from the toils of the Punic war, they were attracted by the beauties and the pleasures of Campania; and the countryhouse of the elder Scipio at Liternum, exhibited a lafting model of their ruftic simplicity (128). The delicious shores of the bay of Naples were crowded with villas; and Sylla applauded the masterly skill of his rival, who had seated himfelf on the lofty promontory of Misenum, that commands, on every fide, the fea and land, as far as the boundaries of the horizon (129). The villa of Marius was purchased, within a few years, by Lucullus, and the price had increased rom two thousand five hundred, to more than fourscore thousand, pounds sterling (130). It was adorned by the new proprietor with Grecian arts, and Afiatic treasures; and the houses and gardens of Lucullus obtained a diffinguished rank in the lift of Imperial palaces (131). When the Vandals became formidable to the fea-coaft, the Lucullan

(128) See the eloquent declamation of Seneca (epift. lxxxvi.). The philosopher might have recollected, that all luxury is relative and that the elder Scipio, whose manners were polished by study and conversation, was himself accused of that vice by his ruder contemporaries (Livy xxix. 19.).

(129) Sylla, in the language of a soldier, praised his peritia sastrametandi (Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 7.). Phædrus, who makes us shady walks (lata viridia) the scene of an insipid sable (ii. 5.), has thus described the situation:

Cæfar Tiberius quam petens Neapolim, In Misenensem villam venisset suam; Quæ monte summo posita Lucusti manu

Prospectat Siculom et prospicit Tuscum mare.

(130) From seven myriads and a half to two hundred and fifty myriads of drachmæ. Yet even in the possession of Marius, it was a luxurious retirement. The Romans derided his indolence: they soon bewailed his activity. See Plutarch, in Mario, tom. ii. P. 524.

(131) Lucullus had other villas of equal, though various, magnificence, at Baiæ, Naples, Tusculum, &c. He boasted that he changed his climate with the storks and cranes. Plutarch, in

Lucull. tom. iii. p. 193.

Lucullan villa, on the promontory of Misenum, gradually assumed the strength and appellation of a strong castle, the obscure retreat of the last emperor of the West. About twenty years after that great revolution, it was converted into a church and monastery, to receive the bones of St. Severinus. They securely reposed, amidst the broken trophies of Cimbric and Armenian victories, till the beginning of the tenth century; when the fortifications, which might afford a dangerous shelter to the Saracens, were demolished by the people of Naples (132).

Decay of the Roman spirit.

Odoacer was the first Barbarian who reigned in Italy, over a people, who had once afferted their just superiority above the rest of mankind. The disgrace of the Romans still excites our respectful compassion, and we fondly sympathise with the imaginary grief and indignation of their degenerate posterity. But the calamities of Italy had gradually fubdued the proud consciousness of freedom and In the age of Roman virtue, the provinces were subject to the arms, and the citizens to the laws, of the republic; till those laws were subverted by civil discord, and both the city and the provinces became the fervile property of a tyrant. The forms of the constitution, which alleviated or disguised their abject slavery, were abolished by time and violence; the Italians alternately lamented the presence or the absence of

⁽¹³²⁾ Severinus died in Noricum, A. D. 482. Six years afterwards, his body, which scattered his miracles as it passed, was transported by his disciples into Italy. The devotion of a Neapolitan lady invited the saint to the Lucullan villa, in the place of Augustulus, who was probably no more. See Baronius (Annal-Eccles. A. D. 496. No. 50, 51.) and Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. xvi. p. 178.—181.), from the original life by Eugippius. The narrative of the last migration of Severinus to Naples, is likewise an authentic piece.

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the fovereigns, whom they detefted or despised; and the succession of five centuries inflicted the various evils of military licence, capricious defpotism, and elaborate oppression. During the fame period, the Barbarians had emerged from obscurity and contempt, and the warriors of Germany and Scythia were introduced into the provinces, as the fervants, the allies, and at length the masters, of the Romans, whom they insulted or protected. The hatred of the people was suppressed by fear; they respected the spirit and splendour of the martial chiefs who were invested with the honours of the empire; and the fate of Rome had long depended on the sword of those formidable strangers. The stern Ricimer, who trampled on the ruins of Italy, had exercifed the power, without affuming the title, of a king; and the parient Romans were infenfibly prepared to acknowledge the royalty of Odoacer and his Barbaric fucceffors.

The King of Italy was not unworthy of the Character high station to which his valour and fortune had and reign of Odoacer, exalted him: his savage manners were polished A. D. 476 by the habits of conversation; and he respected,—490. though a conqueror and a Barbarian, the institutions, and even the prejudices, of his subjects. After an interval of seven years, Odoacer restored the consulship of the West. For himself, he modestly, or proudly, declined an honour which was still accepted by the emperors of the East; but the curule chair was successively filled by eleven of the most illustrious senators (133); and the list is adorned by the respectable name of Bassilius, whose virtues claimed the friendship and grateful

⁽¹³³⁾ The consular Fasti may be found in Pagi or Muratori. The consuls named by Odoacer, or perhaps by the Roman senate, appear to have been acknowledged in the Eastern empire.

grateful applause of Sidonius, his client (134). The laws of the emperors were strictly enforced, and the civil administration of Italy was still exercifed by the Prætorian præfect, and his fubordinate officers. Odoacer devolved on the Roman magistrates the odious and oppressive task of collecting the public revenue; but he referved for himself the merit of seasonable and popular indulgence (135). Like the rest of the Barbarians, he had been instructed in the Arian herefy; but he revered the monastic and episcopal characters; and the filence of the Catholics attests the toleration which they enjoyed. The peace of the city required the interpolition of his præfeet Basilius, in the choice of a Roman pontiff: the decree which restrained the clergy from alienating their lands, was ultimately defigned for the benefit of the people, whose devotion would have been taxed to repair the dilapidations of the church (136). Italy was protected by the arms of its conqueror; and its frontiers were respected by the Barbarians of Gaul and Germany, who had fo long infulted the feeble race of Theodofi-Odoacer passed the Hadriatic, to chastise the affaffins of the emperor Nepos, and to acquire the maritime province of Dalmatia. the

(1/34) Sidonius Apollinaris (l. i. epist. 9. p. 22. edit. Sirmond) has compared the two leading senators of his time (A. D. 468.), Gernadius Avienus, and Cæcina Basilius. To the former he assigns the specious, to the latter the solid, virtues of public and private life. A Basilius junior, possibly his son, was consul in the year 480.

(135) Epiphanius interceded for the people of Pavia; and the king first granted an indulgence of five years, and afterwards relieved them from the oppression of Pelagius, the Prætorian præfect (Ennodius, in Vit. S. Epiphan. in Sirmond. Oper. tom. i. p. 1670, 1672.).

(136) See Baronius, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 483. No. 10-15. Sixteen years afterwards, the irregular proceedings of Basilius were condemned by pope Symmachus in a Roman synod.

the Alps, to rescue the remains of Noricum from Fava, or Feletheus, king of the Rugians, who held his residence beyond the Danube. The king was vanquished in battle, and led away prifoner; a numerous colony of captives and subjects was transplanted into Italy; and Rome, after a long period of defeat and disgrace, might claim the triumph of her Barbarian master. (137).

Notwithstanding the prudence and fuccess of Miserable Odoacer, his kingdom exhibited the fad prospect flate of of mifery and defolation. Since the age of Tiberius, the decay of agriculture had been felt in Italy; and it was a just subject of complaint, that the life of the Roman people depended on the accidents of the winds and waves (138). In the division and the decline of the empire, the tributary harvests of Egypt and Africa were withdrawn; the numbers of the inhabitants continually diminished with the means of subfiftence; and the country was exhausted by the irretrievable loffes of war, famine (139), and peftilence. St. Ambrose has deplored the ruin of a populous district, which had been once adorned with the flourishing cities of Bologna, Modena, Regium, Vol. VI.-F

(137) The wars of Odoacer are concisely mentioned by Paul the Deacon (de Gest. Langobard. l. i. c. 19. p. 757. ed.1. Grot.), and in the two Chronicles of Cassindorius and Cuspinian. The life of St. Severinus, by Eugipius, which the count de Buat (Hist. des Peuples, &c. tom. viii. c. i. 4. 8. 9.) has diligently studied, illustrates the ruin of Noricum and the Bavarian antiquities.

(138) Tacit. Annal. iii. 53. The Recherches fur l'Adminifiration des Terres chez les Romains (p. 351-361.) clearly state the progress of internal decay.

(139) A famine, which afflicted Italy at the time of the irruption of Odoacer, king of the Heruli, is eloquently described in prose and verse, by a French poet (Les Mois, tom. ii. p. 174-206. edit. in 12mo.). I am ignorant from whence he derives his information; but I am well affured that he relates some facts incompatible with the truth of history.

and Placentia (140). Pope Gelasius was a subject of Odoacer; and he affirms, with strong exaggeration, that in Æmilia, Tufcany, and the adjacent provinces, the human species was almost extirpated (141). The plebeians of Rome, who were fed by the hand of their mafter, perished or disappeared, as soon as his liberality was suppressed; the decline of the arts reduced the industrious mechanic to idleness and want; and the fenators, who might support with patience the ruin of their country, bewailed their private loss of wealth and luxury. One-third of those ample estates, to which the ruin of Italy is originally imputed (142), was extorted for the use of the conquerors. Injuries were aggravated by infults; the fense of actual sufferings was embittered by the fear of more dreadful evils; and as new lands were allotted to new swarms of Barbarians, each fenator was apprehensive left the arbitrary furveyors should approach his favourite villa, or his most profitable farm. The least unfortunate were those who submitted without a murmur to the power which it was impossible to resist. Since they defired to live, they owed some gratitude to the tyrant who had spared their lives; and since he was the absolute master of their fortunes, the portion which he left must be accepted as his pure and voluntary gift (143). The diffress of Italy was

(140) See the xxxixth epistle of St. Ambrose, as it is quoted by Muratori, sopra le Antichita Italiane, tom. i. Dissert. xxi. p. 354.

(142) Verumque confitentibus, latifundia perdidere Italiam. Plin. Hist. Natur. xviii. 7.

(143) Such are the topics of confolation, or rather of patience, which Cicero (ad Familiares, l. ix. epift. 17.) suggests to his friend

⁽¹⁴¹⁾ Æmilia, Tuscia, ceteræque provinciæ in quibus hominum prope nullus exsistit. Gelatius, Epist. ad Andromachum, ap. Baronium, Annal. Eccles. A. D. 496. No. 36.

was mitigated by the prudence and humanity of Odoacer, who had bound himself, at the price of his elevation, to fatisfy the demands of a licentious and turbulent multitude. The kings of the Barbarians were frequently refifted, deposed, or murdered, by their native subjects; and the various bands of Italian mercenaries, who affociated under the standard of an elective general, claimed a larger privilege of freedom and rapine. A monarchy destitute of national union, and hereditary right, haftened to its diffolution. After a reign of fourteen years, Odoacer was oppressed by the fuperior genius of Theodoric, king of the Oftrogoths; a hero alike excellent in the arts of war and of government, who restored an age of peace and prosperity, and whose name still excites and deserves the attention of mankind.

P 2

CHAP.

Papirius Pætus, under the military despotism of Cæsar. The are gument, however, of "vivere pulcherrimum duxi," is more fore cibly addressed to a Roman philosopher, who possessed the free alegernative of life or death.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Origin, Progress, and Essets of the Monastic Life.—Conversion of the Barbarians to Christianity and Arianism.—Persecution of the Vandals in Africa.—Extinction of Arianism among the Barbarians.

THE indiffoluble connection of civil and ecclesiastical affairs, has compelled, and encouraged, me to relate the progress, the persecutions, the establishment, the divisions, the final triumph, and the gradual corruption of Christianity. I have purposely delayed the consideration of two religious events, interesting in the study of human nature, and important in the decline and fall of the Roman empire. I. The institution of the monastic life (1); and, II. The conversion of the northern Barbarians.

I. THE I. Prosperity and peace introduced the distinction of the vulgar and the Ascetic Christians (2).

TIC LIFE. The loss and imperfect practice of religion satisfies monks fied the conscience of the multitude. The prince or magistrate, the soldier or merchant, reconciled their

(i) The origin of the monastic institution has been laboriously discussed by Thomasin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1419—1426.) and Helyot (Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 1—66.). These authors are very learned and tolerably honest, and their discrence of opinion shews the subject in its sull extent. Yet the cautious Protestant, who distrusts any popish guides, may consult the seventh book of Bingham's Christian Antiquities.

(2) See Euseb. Demonstrat. Evangel. (1. i. p. 20, 21. edito Græc. Rob. Stephani, Paris, 1545.). In his Ecclesiastical History, published twelve years after the Demonstration, Eusebius (1.i.c. 17.) afferts the Christianity of the Therapeutæ; but he appears ignorant, that a similar institution was actually revived in Egypts.

their fervent zeal, and implicit faith, with the exercise of their profession, the pursuit of their interest, and the indulgence of their passions: but the Afcetics who obeyed and abused the rigid precepts of the gospel, were inspired by the favage enthusiasm, which represents man as a criminal, and God as a tyrant. They ferioufly renounced the business, and the pleasures, of the age; abjured the use of wine, of flesh, and of marriage; chastised their body, mortified their affections, and embraced a life of misery, as the price of eternal happiness. In the reign of Constantine, the Ascetics sted from a profane and degenerate world, to perpetual folitude, or religious fociety. Like the first Christians of Jerusalem (3), they refigned the use, or the property, of their temporal possessions; established regular communities of the same sex, and a similar disposition; and assumed the names of Hermits. Monks, and Anachorets, expressive of their lonely retreat in a natural or artificial defert. They foon acquired the respect of the world, which they despised; and the loudest applause was beflowed on this DIVINE PHILOSOPHY (4), which furpassed, without the aid of science or reason, the laborious virtues of the Grecian schools. The monks might indeed contend with the Stoics, in the

(3) Cassian (Collat. xviii. 5.) claims this origin for the institution of the Caenobites, which gradually decayed till it was restored by Antony and his disciples.

⁽⁴⁾ Ωφελιμωτατον γαρ τι χέημα εις ανθρωπες ελθεσα παρα Θεε η τοιαυτη φιλοσοφια. These are the expressive words of Sozomen, who copiously and agreeably describes (l. i. c. 12, 13, 14.) the origin and progress of this monkish philosophy (see Suicer. Thesaur. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 1441.). Some modern writers, Lipsius (tom. iv. p. 448. Manuduct. ad Philos. Stoic. iii. 13.), and La Mothe le Vayer (tom. ix. de la Vertù des Payens, p. 228—262.), have compared the Carmelites to the Pythagoreans, and the Cynics to the Capucins.

the contempt of fortune, of pain, and of death: the Pythagorean filence and fubmission were revived in their fervile discipline; and they disdained, as firmly as the Cynics themselves, all the forms and decencies of civil fociety. But the votaries of this Divine Philosophy aspired to imitate a purer and more perfect model. They trod in the footsteps of the prophets, who had retired to the defert (5); and they restored the devout and contemplative life, which had been inflituted by the Essenians, in Palestine and Egypt. philosophic eye of Pliny had surveyed with astonishment a solitary people, who dwelt among the palm-trees near the Dead Sea; who subsisted without money, who were propagated without women; and who derived from the difgust and repentance of mankind, a perpetual supply of voluntary affociates (6).

Antony Egypt, the fruitful parent of superstition, afand the monks of forded the first example of the monastic life.

Egypt,
A. D. 305.

(5) The Carmelites derive their pedigree, in regular succession, from the prophet Elijah (see the Theses of Beziers, A. D. 1682. in Bayle's Nouvelles de la Republique des Lettres, Oeuvres, tom. i. p. 82, &c. and the prolix irony of the Ordres Monastiques, an anonymous work, tom. i. p. 1—433. Beilin, 1751.). Rome and the inquisition of Spain, silenced the profane criticism of the Jesuits of Flanders (Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 282—300.), and the statue of Elijah, the Carmelite, has been erected in the church of St. Peter (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. iii. p. 87.).

(6) Plin. Hist. Natur. v. 15. Gens sola, et in toto orbe præter ceteras mira, sine ullå seminå, omni venere abdicatå, sine pecuniå, socia palmarum. Ita per seculorum millia (incredibile dictu) gens æterna est in quå nemo nascitur. Tam sæcunda illis aliorum vitæ pænitentia est. He places them just beyond the noxious insuence of the lake, and names Engaddi and Masada as the nearest towns. The Laura, and monastery of St. Sabas, could not be far distant from this place. See Reland. Palestin. tom. i. p. 295. tom. ii. p. 763, 874, 880, 890.

Antony (7), an illiterate (8) youth of the lower parts of Thebais, distributed his patrimony (9), deferted his family and native home, and executed his monaftic penance with original and intrepid fanaticism. After a long and painful noviciate, among the tombs, and in a ruined tower, he boldly advanced into the defert three days journey to the eastward of the Nile; discovered a lonely spot, which possessed the advantages of shade and water, and fixed his last residence on mount Colzim near the Red Sea; where an ancient monastery still preferves the name and memory of the faint (10). The curious devotion of the Christians pursued him to the defert; and when he was obliged to appear at Alexandria, in the face of mankind, he supported his fame with discretion and dignity. He enjoyed the friendship of Athanasius, whose doctrine he approved; and the Egyptian peasant respect-

(7) See Athanas. Op. tom. ii. p. 450-505. and the Vit. Patrum, p. 26-74. with Rosweyde's Annotations. The former is the Greek original; the latter, a very ancient Latin version by Evagrius, the friend of St. Jerom.

(8) Γραμματα μεν μαθείν εκ ηνεσχετο. Athanas. tom. ii. in Vit. S. Anton. p. 452.; and the affertion of his total ignorance has been received by many of the ancients and moderns. But Tillemont (Mem. Eccles. tom. vii. p. 666.) shews, by some probable arguments, that Antony could read and write in the Coptic his native tongue; and that he was only a stranger to the Greek letters. The philosopher Synesius (p. 51.) acknowledges, that

the natural genius of Antony did not require the aid of learning.

(9) Aruræ autem erant ei trecentæ uberes, et valde optimæ (Vit. Patr. l. i. p. 36.) If the Arura be a square meature of an hundred Egyptian cubits (Rosweyde, Onomasticon ad Vit. Patrum, p. 1014, 1015.); and the Egyptian cubit of all ages be equal to twenty-two English inches (Greaves, vol. i. p. 233.), the arura will confift of about three quarters of an English acre.

(10) The description of the monastery is given by Jerom (tom. i. p. 248, 249. in Vit. Hilarion), and the P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. v. p. 122-200.). Their accounts cannot always be reconciled; the Father painted from his fancy, and the Jesuit

from his experience.

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respectfully declined a respectful invitation from A. D. 251 the emperor Constantine. The venerable patriarch (for Antony attained the age of one hundred and five years) beheld the numerous progeny which had been formed by his example and his lessons. The prolific colonies of monks multiplied with rapid increase on the sands of Libya, upon the rocks of Thebais, and in the cities of the Nile. To the fouth of Alexandria, the mountain, and adjacent defert, of Nitria, was peopled by five thousand anachorets; and the traveller may still investigate the ruins of fifty monafteries, which were planted in that barren foil, by the disciples of Antony (11). In the Upper Thebais, the vacant Island of Tabenne (12) was occupied by Pachomius, and fourteen hundred of his brethren. That holy abbot successively founded nine monafteries of men, and one of women; and the festival of Easter sometimes collected fifty thousand religious persons, who followed his angelic rule of discipline (13). The stately and populous city of Oxyrinchus, the feat of Christian orthodoxy, had devoted the temples, the public edifices, and even the ramparts, to pious and charitable uses; and the bishop, who

> (11) Jerom, tom. i. p. 146. ad Eustochium. Hist. Laufiac. c. 7. in Vit. Patium, p. 712. The P. Sicard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 29-79.) visited, and has described, this desert, which now contains four monasteries, and twenty or thirty monks. See

D'Anville, Description de l'Egypte, p. 74.

(12) Tabenne is a small island in the Nile, in the diocese of Tentyra or Dendera, between the modern town of Girge and the ruins of ancient Thebes (D'Anville, p. 194.). M. de Tillemont doubts whether it was an isle; but I may conclude, from his own facts, that the primitive name was afterwards transferred to the great monastery of Bau or Pabau (Mem. Eccles, tom. vii. p. 678. 688.)

⁽¹³⁾ See in the Codex Regularum (published by Lucas Holstenius, Rome, 1661.) a preface of St. Jerom to his Latin version of the Rule of Pachomius, tom. i. p. 61.

might preach in twelve churches, computed ten thousand females, and twenty thousand males, of the monastic profession (14). The Egyptians, who gloried in this marvellous revolution, were disposed to hope, and to believe, that the number of the monks was equal to the remainder of the people (15); and posterity might repeat the saying, which had formerly been applied to the sacred animals of the same country, That, in Egypt, it was less difficult to find a god, than a man.

Athanasius introduced into Rome the know-Propagaledge and practice of the monaftic life; and a tion of the fchool of this new philosophy was opened by the life at disciples of Antony, who accompanied their pri-Rome, mate to the holy threshold of the Vatican. The A. D. 541. strange and favage appearance of these Egyptians excited, at first, horror and contempt, and, at length, applause and zealous imitation. The senators, and more especially the matrons, transformed their palaces and villas into religious houses; and the narrow inflitution of fix Vestals, was eclipsed by the frequent monasteries, which were feated on the ruins of ancient temples, and in the midst of the Roman Forum (16). Inflamed by the example of Antony, a Syrian youth.

⁽¹⁴⁾ Rusin, c. 5. in Vit. Patrum, p. 459. He calls it, civitas ampla valde et populosa, and reckons twelve churches. Strabo (l. xvii. p. 1166.), and Ammianus (xxii. 16) have made honourable mention of Oxyrinchus, whose inhabitants adored a small sish in a magnificent temple.

⁽¹⁵⁾ Quanti populi habentur in urbibus, tanta pæne habentur in desertis multitudines monachorum. Rusin. c. 7. in Vit. Patrum, p. 461. He congratulates the fortunate change.

⁽¹⁶⁾ The introduction of the monastic life into Rome and Italy, is occasionally mentioned by Jerom (tom. i. p. 119, 120. 199.)

Hilarion in youth, whose name was Hilarion (17), fixed his Palestine, A. D. 328. dreary abode on a sandy beach, between the sea and a morass, about seven miles from Gaza. The auftere penance, in which he perfifted forty-eight years, diffused a similar enthusiasm; and the holy man was followed by a train of two or three thousand anachorets, whenever he visited the innumerable monafteries of Palestine. The fame of Basil (18) is immortal in the monastic history Bafil in of the East. With a mind, that had tasted the Pontus, A. D. 360. learning and eloquence of Athens; with an ambition, scarcely to be satisfied by the archbishopric of Cæsarea, Basil retired to a savage solitude in Pontus; and deigned, for a while, to give laws to the spiritual colonies which he profusely scattered along the coast of the Black Sea. In Martin in the West, Martin of Tours (19), a soldier, an hermit, a bishop, and a saint, established the Gaul, A. D. 370 monasteries of Gaul; two thousand of his disciples followed him to the grave; and his eloquent historian challenges the deferts of Thebais, to produce, in a more favourable climate, a champion of equal virtue. The progress of the monks was not less rapid, or universal, than that of Christianity itself. Every province, and, at

> (17) See the Life of Hilarion, by St. Jerom (tom i. p. 241. 252.). The stories of Paul, Hilarion, and Malchus, by the same author, are admirably told; and the only defect of these pleasing compositions is the want of truth and common sense.

> (18) His original retreat was in a finall village on the banks of the Iris, not far from Neo-Cæsarea. The ten or twelve years of his monastic life were disturbed by long and frequent avocations. Some critics have disputed the authenticity of his Ascetic rules; but the external evidence is weighty, and they can only prove, that it is the work of a real or affected enthusiast. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. ix. p. 636—644. Helyot, Hist. des Ordres Monastiques, tom. i. p. 175—181.
>
> (19) See his Life, and the Three Dialogues by Sulpicius Severes who essets (Dialogue in 16), that the book of Recommendation of Recommendation is the second of the second of

> rus, who afferts (Dialog. i. 16.), that the booksellers of Rome were delighted with the quick and ready fale of his popular work.

last, every city, of the empire, was filled with their increasing multitudes; and the bleak and barren isles, from Lerins to Lipari, that arise out of the Tuscan sea, were chosen by the anachorets, for the place of their voluntary exile. An easy and perpetual intercourse by sea and land connected the provinces of the Roman world: and the life of Hilarion displays the facility with which an indigent hermit of Palestine might traverse Egypt, embark for Sicily, escape to Epirus, and finally fettle in the island of Cyprus (20). The Latin Christians embraced the religious institutions of Rome. The pilgrims, who visited Jerusalem, eagerly copied, in the most distant climates of the earth, the faithful model of the monastic life. The disciples of Antony spread themselves beyond the tropic over the Christian empire of Æthiopia (21). The monastery of Banchor (22), in Flintshire, which contained above two thousand brethren, dispersed a numerous colony among the Barbarians of Ireland (23); and Iona, one of the Hebrides, which was planted by the Irish monks, diffused over the northern

⁽²⁰⁾ When Hilarion failed from Parætonium to Cape Pachynus, he offered to pay his passage with a book of the Gospels. Posthumian, a Gallic monk, who had visited Egypt, found a merchant-ship bound from Alexandria to Marseilles, and performed the voyage in thirty days (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 1.). Athanasus, who addressed his Life of St. Antony to the foreign monks, was obliged to hasten the composition, that it might be ready for the sailing of the fleets (tom. ii. p. 451.)

⁽²¹⁾ See Jerom (tom. i. p. 126.), Assemanni, Bibliot. Orient. tom. iv. p. 92. p. 857-919. and Geddes, Church History of Æthiopia, p. 29, 30, 31. The Habyssinian monks adhere very strictly to the primitive institution.

⁽²²⁾ Camden's Britannia, vol. i. p. 666, 667.

⁽²³⁾ All that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is copiously stated by archbishop Usher, in his Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, cap. xvi. p. 425—503.

northern regions a doubtful ray of science and

Superstition (24).

Causes of its rapid progress.

These unhappy exiles from social life, were impelled by the dark and implacable genius of fuperstition. Their mutual resolution was supported by the example of millions, of either fex, of every age, and of every rank; and each profelyte, who entered the gates of a monastery. was perfuaded, that he trod the steep and thorny path of eternal happiness (25) But the operation of these religious motives was variously determined by the temper and fituation of mankind. Reason might subdue, or passion might suspend, their influence: but they acted most forcibly on the infirm minds of children and females; they were strengthened by secret remorfe, or accidental misfortune; and they might derive some aid from the temporal confiderations of vanity or interest. It was naturally supposed, that the pious and humble monks, who had renounced the world, to accomplish the work of their salvation, were the best qualified for the spiritual government

(24) This small, though not barren, spot, Iona, Hy, or Columbkill, only two miles in length, and one mile in breadth, has been distinguished, 1. By the monastery of St. Columba, sounded A. D. 566; whose abbot exercised an extraordinary jurisd ction over the bishops of Caledonia. 2. By a classic library, which afforded some hopes of an entire Livy; and, 3. By the tombs of fixty kings, Scots, Irish, and Norwegians; who reposed in holy ground. See Usher (p. 311, 360-370.), and Buchanan (Rer. Scot. I. ii. p. 15. edit. Ruddiman).

(25) Chrysostom (in the first tome of the Benedictine edition) has confectated three books to the praise and defence of the monastic life. He is encouraged by the example of the ark, to prefume, that none but the elect (the monks) can possibly be saved (l. i. p. 55, 56.). Elsewhere indeed he becomes more merciful (l. iii. p. 83, 84.), and allows different degrees of glory like the sun, moon, and stars. In his lively comparison of a king and a monk (l. iii. p. 116—121), he supposes (what is hardly fair), that the king will be more sparingly rewarded, and more rigor-outly punished.

ment of the Christians. The reluctant hermit was torn from his cell, and feated, amidst the acclamations of the people, on the episcopal throne: the monasteries of Egypt, of Gaul, and of the East, supplied a regular succession of faints and bishops; and ambition foon discovered the fecret road which led to the possession of wealth and honours (26). The popular monks, whose reputation was connected with the fame and fuccess of the order, assiduously laboured to multiply the number of their fellow-captives. They infinuated themselves into noble and opulent families; and the specious arts of flattery and seduction were employed to fecure those proselytes, who might bestow wealth or dignity on the monastic profession. The indignant father bewailed the loss, perhaps of an only fon (27); the credulous maid was betrayed by vanity to violate the laws of nature; and the matron aspired to imaginary perfection, by renouncing the virtues of domestic life. Paula yielded to the persuasive eloquence of Jerom (28); and the profane title of mother-in-law of God (29), tempted that il-

(26) Thomasin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i.p. 1426-1469), and Mabillon (Oeuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 115-158.). The monks were gradually adopted as a part of the ecclefiaftical hierarchy.

(27) Dr. Middleton (vol. i. p. 110.) liberally censures the conduct and writings of Chrysostom, one of the most eloquent and

fuccessful advocates for the monastic life.

(28) Jerom's devout ladies form a very confiderable portion of his works, the particular treatife, which he styles the Epitaph of Paula (tom. i. p. 169-192.), is an elaborate and extravagant panegyric. The exordium is ridiculously turgid: " If all the "members of my body were changed into tongues, and if all my limbs resounded with a human voice, yet should I be inca-" pable, &c.

(29) Socrus Dei esse cœpisti (Jerom. tom. i. p. 140. ad Eustochium), Rufinus (in Hieronym. Op. tom. iv. p. 223.), who was justly scandalised, asks his adversary, From what Pagan poet he

had stolen an expression so impious and absurd?

lustrious widow, to confecrate the virginity of her daughter Euftochium. By the advice, and in the company, of her spiritual guide, Paula abandoned Rome and her infant fon; retired to the holy village of Bethlem; founded an hospital and four monasteries; and acquired, by her alms and penance, an eminent and conspicuous station in the catholic church. Such rare and illustrious penitents were celebrated as the glory and example of their age; but the monasteries were filled by a crowd of obscure and abject plebeians (30), who gained in the cloyfter much more than they had facrificed in the world. Peafants, flaves, and mechanics, might escape from poverty and contempt, to a fafe and honourable profession; whose apparent hardships were mitigated by custom, by popular applause, and by the secret relaxation of discipline (31). The subjects of Rome, whose persons and fortunes were made responsible for unequal and exorbitant tributes, retired from the oppression of the Imperial government; and the pufillanimous youth preferred the penance of a monaftic, to the dangers of a military, life. The affrighted provincials, of every rank, who fled before the Barbarians, found shelter and subsistence; whole legions were buried

(31) " A Dominican friar (Voyages du P. Labat, tom. i. p. 10.), who lodged at Cadiz in a convent of his brethren, foon underflood, that their repose was never interrupted by nocturnal devotion; " quoiqu'on ne laisse pas de sonner pour l'edification du

⁽³⁰⁾ Nunc autem veniunt plerumque ad hanc professionem servitutis Dei, et ex conditione servili, vel etiam liberati, vel propter hoc a Dominis liberati sive liberandi; et ex vita rusticana, et ex opificum exercitatione, et plebeio labore. Augustin. de Oper. Monach. c. 22. ap. Thomassin. Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1e95. The Egyptian, who blamed Arsenius, owned that he led a more comfortable life as a monk, than as a shepherd. See Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 679.

buried in these religious sanctuaries; and the same cause, which relieved the distress of individuals, impaired the strength and fortitude of the

empire (31).

The monastic profession of the ancients (32) Obedience was an act of voluntary devotion. The incon-of the stant fanatic was threatened with the eternal ven-monks. geance of the God whom he deferted: but the doors of the monastery were still open for repentance. Those monks, whose conscience was fortified by reason or passion, were at liberty to refume the character of men and citizens; and even the spouses of Christ might accept the legal embraces of an earthly lover (33). The examples of scandal, and the progress of superstition, fuggested the propriety of more forcible restraints. After a sufficient trial, the fidelity of the novice was fecured by a folemn and perpetual vow; and his irrevocable engagement was ratified by the laws of the church and state. A guilty fugitive was purfued, arrefted, and reftored to his perpetual prison; and the interposition of the magistrate oppressed the freedom and merit, which

(31) See a very sensible preface of Lucas Holstenius to the Codex Regularum. The emperors attempted to support the obligation of public and private duties; but the feeble dykes were swept away by the torrent of superstition: and Justinian surpassed the most sanguine wishes of the monks (Thomassin, tom. i. p. 1782—1799. and Bingham, l. vii. c. 3. p. 253.)

(32) The monastic institutions, particularly those of Egypt, about the year 400, are described by four curious and devout travellers; Rusinus (Vit. Patrum, I. ii, iii. p. 424—536.), Posthumian (Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i), Palladius (Hist. Lusiac. in Vit. Patrum, p. 709—863), and Cassian (see in tom. vii. Bibliothec. Max. Patrum, his four first books of Institutes, and the twenty-

four Collations or Conferences).

(33) The example of Malchus (Jerom. tom. i. p. 256.), and the design of Cassian and his friend (Collation xxiv. 1.) are incontestable proofs of their freedom; which is elegantly described by Erasmus in his Life of St. Jerom. See Chardon, Histories Sacremens, tom. vi. p. 279—300.

had alleviated, in some degree, the abject slavery of the monastic discipline (34). The actions of a monk, his words, and even his thoughts, were determined by an inflexible rule (35), or a capricious superior: the slightest offences were corrected by difgrace or confinement, extraordinary fasts or bloody flagellation; and disobedience, murmur, or delay, were ranked in the catalogue of the most heinous fins (36). A blind submission to the commands of the abbot, however abfurd, or even criminal, they might feem, was the ruling principle, the first virtue of the Egyptian monks; and their patience was frequently exercifed by the most extravagant trials. They were directed to remove an enormous rock; affiduoully to water a barren staff, that was planted in the ground, till, at the end of three years, it should vegetate and blossom like a tree; to walk into a fiery furnace; or to cast their infant into a deep pond: and feveral faints, or madmen, have

(34) See the Laws of Justinian (Novel. cxxiii. No. 42.), and of Lewis the Pious (in the Historians of France, tom. vi. p. 427.), and the actual jurisprudence of France, in Denissart (De-

cisions, &c. tom. iv. p. 855, &c.
(35) The ancient Codex Regularum, collected by Benedict Anianinus, the reformer of the monks in the beginning of the ninth century, and published in the seventeenth, by Lucas Holstenius, contains thirty different rules for men and women. Of thefe, seven were composed in Egypt, one in the East, one in Cappadocia, one in Italy, one in Africa, four in Spain, eight in

Gaul, or France, and one in England.

(36) The rule of Columbanus, so prevalent in the Weft, inflicts one hundred lashes for very slight offences (Cod. Reg. part. ii. p. 174.). Before the time of Charlemagne, the abbots indulged themselves in mutilating their monks, or putting out their eyes; a punishment much less cruel than the tremendous vade in pace (the fubterraneous dungeon, or sepulchre), which was afterwards invented. See an admirable discourse of the learned Mabillon (Oeuvres Posthumes, tom. ii. p. 321-336.); who, on this occasion, feems to be inspired by the genius of humanity. For fuch an effort, I can forgive his defence of the holy tear of Vendome (p. 361-399.).

been immortalized in monastic story, by their thoughtless, and fearless, obedience (37). The freedom of the mind, the source of every generous and rational sentiment, was destroyed by the habits of credulity and submission; and the monk, contracting the vices of a slave, devoutly sollowed the faith and passions of his ecclesiastical tyrant. The peace of the eastern church was invaded by a swarm of fanatics, incapable of fear, or reason, or humanity; and the Imperial troops acknowledged, without shame, that they were much less apprehensive of an encounter with the siercest Barbarians (38).

Superstition has often framed and consecrated Their dress

the fantastic garments of the monks (39): but and habitheir apparent singularity sometimes proceeds from their uniform attachment to a simple and primitive model, which the revolutions of fashion have made ridiculous in the eyes of mankind. The father of the Benedictines expressly disclaims all idea of choice, or merit; and soberly exhorts his disciples to adopt the coarse and convenient dress of the countries which they may inhabit (40). The monastic habits of the ancients varied with the climate, and their mode of life; and they affumed, with the same indifference, the sheep-Vol. VI.—F

(37) Sulp. Sever. Dialog. i. 12, 13. p. 532, &c. Cassian, Infittut. l. iv. c. 26, 27. "Præcipua ibi virtus et prima est obedi" entia." Among the verba seniorum (in Vit. Patrum, l. v. p.
617.), the fourteenth libel or discourse is on the subject of obedience; and the Jesuit Rosweyde, who published that huge volume
for the use of convents, has collected all the scattered passages in
his two copious indexes.

(38) Dr. Jortin (Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. iv. p. 161.) has observed the scandalous valour of the Cappadocian monks, which was exemplified in the banishment of Chrysostom.

(39) Cassian has simply, though copiously, described the monastic habit of Egypt (Institut. 1. i.), to which Sozomen (1. iii. c. 14.) attributes such allegorical meaning and virtue.

(40) Regul. Benedict. No. 55. in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 51.

skin of the Egyptian peasants, or the cloak of the Grecian philosophers. They allowed themfelves the use of linen in Egypt, where it was a cheap and domestic manufacture; but in the West, they rejected such an expensive article of foreign luxury (41). It was the practice of the monks either to cut or shave their hair; they wrapped their heads in a cowl, to escape the fight of profane objects; their legs and feet were naked, except in the extreme cold of winter; and their flow and feeble steps were supported by a long staff. The aspect of a genuine anachoret was horrid and difgusting: every sensation that is offensive to man, was thought acceptable to God; and the angelic rule of Tabenne condemned the falutary custom of bathing the limbs in water, and of anointing them with oil (42). The auftere monks flept on the ground, on a hard mat, or a rough blanket; and the fame bundle of palm-leaves ferved them as a feat in the day, and a pillow in the night. Their original cells were low narrow huts, built of the flightest materials; which formed, by the regular diftribution of the streets, a large and populous village, inclosing, within the common wall, a church, an hospital, perhaps a library, some necessary offices, a garden, and a fountain or refervoir of fresh water. Thirty or forty brethren composed a family of separate discipline and diet; and the great monasteries of Egypt consisted of thirty or forty families.

Pleafure

⁽⁴¹⁾ See the Rule of Ferreolus, bishop of Usez (No. 31. in Cod. Regul. part. ii. p. 136.), and of Indore, bishop of Seville (No. 13. in Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 214.

⁽⁴²⁾ Some partial indulgences were granted for the hands and feet. "Totum autem corpus nemo unguet nin caufà infirm itatis, "nec lavabitur aqua nudo corpore, nin languor perípicuus at." (Regul. Pachom. xcii. part i, p. 78.)

Pleasure and guilt are synonimous terms in Their dieta the language of the monks: and they had discovered, by experience, that rigid fasts, and abstemious diet, are the most effectual preservatives against the impure defires of the flesh (43). The rules of abstinence, which they imposed, or practifed, were not uniform or perpetual: the cheerful festival of the Pentecost was balanced by the extraordinary mortification of Lent; the fervour of new monasteries was insensibly relaxed a and the voracious appetite of the Gauls could not imitate the patient, and temperate, virtue of the Egyptians (44). The disciples of Antony and Panchomius were fatisfied with their daily pittance (45), of twelve ounces of bread, or rather biscuit (46), which they divided into two frugal repasts, of the afternoon, and of the evening.

(43) St. Jerom, in strong, but indiscreet, language, expresses the most important use of fasting and abstinence: "Non quod "Deus universitatis Creator et Dominus, intestinonum nostrorum rugitû, et inanitate ventris, pulmonisque ardore delectetur, sed quod aliter pudicitia tuta esse non possit." (Op. tom. i. p. 1372 ad Eustochium.) See the twelsth and twenty second Collations of Cassian, de Cassiate, and de Illusionibus Nocturnis.

(44) Edacitas in Græcis gula ett, in Gillis natura (Dialog. i. c. 4. p. 521.). Cassian fairly owns, that the perfect model of abstinence cannot be imitated in Gaul, on account of the aerum temperies, and the qualitas nostræ fragilitatis (Institut. iv. 11.). Among the western rules, that of Columbanus is the most austere; he had been educated amidst the poverty of Ireland, as rigid perhaps, and inslexible, as the abstemious virtue of Egypt. The Rule of Isidore of Seville is the mildest: on holidays he allows the use of flesh

(45) "Those who drink only water, and have no nutritious iliquor, ought, at least, to have a pound and a half (trwenty-four ounces) of bread every day." State of Prisons, p. 40. by Mr. Howard.

(46) See Cissian. Collat. 1. ii. 19, 20, 21. The small loaves, or biscuit, of fix ounces each, had obtained the name of Paximacia (Rosweyde, Onomasticon, p. 1045.). Punchomius, however, allowed his monks some latitude in the quantity of their sood; but he made them work in proportion as they eat (Pallad. in Hist. Lausiac. c. 38, 39. in Vit. Patrum, 1. viii. p. 736, 737.)

evening. It was efteemed a merit, and almost a duty, to abstain from the boiled vegetables, which were provided for the refectory; but the extraordinary bounty of the abbot fometimes indulged them with the luxury of cheefe, fruit, fallad, and the small dried fish of the Nile (47). A more ample latitude of fea and river fish was gradually allowed or affumed: but the use of flesh was long confined to the fick or travellers; and when it gradually prevailed in the less rigid monasteries of Europe, a singular distinction was introduced; as if birds, whether wild or domeftic, had been less profane than the groffer animals of the field. Water was the pure and innocent beverage of the primitive monks; and the founder of the Benedictines regrets the daily portion of half a pint of wine, which had been extorted from him by the intemperance of the age (48). Such an allowance might be eafily supplied by the vineyards of Italy; and his victorious disciples, who passed the Alps, the Rhine, and the Baltic, required, in the place of wine, an adequate compensation of strong beer or cyder.

Their manual labour.

The candidate who aspired to the virtue of evangelical poverty, abjured, at his first entrance into a regular community, the idea, and even the name, of all separate, or exclusive, possession (49). The brethren were supported by their manual

Milandas

(47) See the banquet to which Cassian (Collation viii, 1.) was

invited by Serenus, an Egyptian abbot.

(48) See the Rule of St. Benedict, No. 39, 40. (in Cod. Reg. part ii. p. 41, 42.) Licet legamus vinum omnio monachorum non esse, sed quia nostris temporibus id monachis persuaderi non potest; he allows them a Roman bemina, a measure which may be ascertained from Arbuthnot's Tables.

(49) Such expressions, as zwy book, my cloak, my shoes (Casfian, (Institut, I. iv. c. 13.), were not less severely prohibited among the Western monks (Cod. Regul. part ii. p. 174. 235. 288.);

manual labour; and the duty of labour was firenuoufly recommended as a pennance, as an exercife, and as the most laudable means of securing their daily subfishence (50). The garden, and fields, which the industry of the monks had often rescued from the forest or the morals, were diligently cultivated by their hands. They performed, without reluctance, the menial offices of flaves and domestics; and the several trades that were necessary to provide their habits, their utenfils, and their lodging, were exercised within the precincts of the great monasteries. The monastic studies have tended, for the most part, to darken, rather than to dispel, the cloud of superfition. Yet the curiofity or zeal of some learned folitaries has cultivated the ecclefiaftical. and even the profane, sciences: and posterity must gratefully acknowledge, that the monuments of Greek and Roman literature have been preferved and multiplied by their indefatigable pens (51). But the more humble industry of the monks, especially in Egypt, was contented with the filent, fedentary, occupation, of making wooden

and the Rule of Columbanus punished them with fix lashes. The ironical author of the Ordres Monassiques, who laughs at the foolish nicety of modern convents, seems ignorant that the ancients were equally absurd.

(50) Two great masters of ecclesiastical science, the P. Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1090—1139.), and the P. Mabillon (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i. p. 116—155.), have seriously examined the manual labour of the monks, which

the former confiders as a merit, and the latter as a duty.

(51) Mabillon (Etudes Monastiques, tom. i. p. 47—55.) has collected many curious facts to justify the literary labours of his predecessors, both in the East and West. Books were copied in the ancient monasteries of Egypt (Cassian. Institut. l. iv. c. 12.), and by the disciples of St. Martin (Sulp. Sever. in Vit. Martin. c. 7. p. 473.). Cassiodorius has allowed an ample scope for the studies of the monks; and que shall not be scandalized, if their pen sometimes wandered from Chrysostom and Augustin, to Homer, and Virgil.

wooden fandals, or of twifting the leaves of the palm-tree into mats and baskets. The superfluous stock, which was not consumed in domestic use, supplied, by trade, the wants of the community: the boats of Tabenne, and the other monasteries of Thebais, descended the Nile as far as Alexandria; and, in a Christian market, the sanctity of the workmen might enhance the intrinsic value of the work.

Their riches.

But the necessity of manual labour was infenfibly superseded. The novice was tempted to bestow his fortune on the saints, in whose society he was refolved to fpend the remainder of his life; and the pernicious indulgence of the laws permitted him to receive, for their use, any future accessions of legacy or inheritance (52). Melania contributed her plate, three hundred pounds weight of filver; and Paula contracted an immense debt, for the relief of their favourite monks; who kindly imparted the merits of their prayers and pennance to a rich and liberal finner (53). Time continually increased, and accidents could feldom diminish, the estates of the popular monafteries, which spread over the adjacent country and cities: and, in the first century of their institution, the infidel Zosimus has malicioully observed, that, for the benefit of the poor, the Christian monks had reduced a great part of mankind

(52) Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 118, 145, 146. 171-179) has examined the revolution of the civil, canon, and common, law. Modern France confirms the death which monks have inslicted on themselves, and justly deprives them of all right of inheritance.

⁽⁵³⁾ See Jerom (tom. i. p. 176. 183.). The monk Pambo made a sublime answer to Melania, who wished to specify the value of her gist: "Do you offer to me, or to God? If to God, HE who suspends the mountains in a balance, need not be informed of the weight of your plate." (Pallad. Hist. Lausiac. c. 10. in the Vit. Patrum, I. viii. p. 7-15.

mankind to a state of beggary (54). As long as they maintained their original fervour, they approved themselves, however, the faithful and benevolent stewards of the charity, which was entrusted to their care. But their discipline was corrupted by prosperity: they gradually assumed the pride of wealth, and at last indulged the luxury of expence. Their public luxury might be excused by the magnificence of religious worship, and the decent motive of erecting durable habitations for an immortal fociety. But every age of the church has accused the licentiousness of the degenerate monks; who no longer remembered the object of their institution, embraced the vain and fenfual pleafures of the world, which they had renounced (55), and scandalously abused the riches which had been acquired by the authere virtues of their founders (56). Their natural descent, from such painful and dangerous virtue, to the common vices of humanity, will not, perhaps, excite much grief or indignation in the mind of a philosopher.

The

⁽⁵⁴⁾ Το πολυ μερος της γης ωκειωσαιτο, προφασει των μεταδιδοναι παντα πτωχοις, παντας (ως ειπειν) πτωχες κατας ησαντες. Zolim. I. v. p. 325. Yet the wealth of the eastern monks was far furpassed by the princely greatness of the Benedictines.

⁽⁵⁵⁾ The fixth general council (the Quinifext in Trullo, Canon xlvii. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 213.) restrains women from passing the night in a male, or men in a female, monastery. The seventh general council (the second Nicene, canon xx. in Beveridge, tom. i. p. 325.) prohibits the erection of double or promissions monasteries of both sexes; but it appears from Balsamon, that the prohibition was not effectual. On the irregular pleasures and expences of the clergy and monks, see Thomassin, tom. iii. p. 1334—1368.

⁽⁵⁶⁾ I have somewhere heard or read the frank confession of a Benedictine abbot: "My vow of poverty has given me an hunder dred thousand crowns a year; my vow of obedience has raised me to the rank of a sovereign prince."—I forget the consequences of his vow of chastity.

Their foli-

The lives of the primitive monks were confumed in penance and folitude; undiffurbed by the various occupations which fill the time, and exercise the faculties, of reasonable, active, and focial beings. Whenever they were permitted to step beyond the precincts of the monastery, two jealous companions were the mutual guards and spies of each other's actions; and, after their return, they were condemned to forget, or, at leaft, to suppress, whatever they had seen or heard in the world. Strangers, who professed the orthodox faith, were hospitably entertained in a separate apartment; but their dangerous conversation was reflricted to some chosen elders of approved discretion and fidelity. Except in their presence, the monastic flave might not receive the visits of his friends or kindred; and it was deemed highly meritorious, if he afflicted a tender fifter, or an aged parent, by the obstinate refusal of a word or look (57). The monks themselves passed their lives, without perfonal attachments, among a crowd, which had been formed by accident, and was detained, in the same prison, by force or prejudice. Recluse fanatics have few ideas or fentiments to communicate: a frecial licence of the abbot regulated the time and duration of their familiar vifits; and, at their filent meals, they were enveloped in their cowls, inacceffible, and almost invisible, to each other (58). Study is the resource of solitude: but education had not prepared and qualified for any liberal studies the mechanics

(57) Pior, an Egypt an monk, allowed his fister to see him; but he shut his eyes during the whole v sit. See Vit. Patrum, l. iii. p. 504. Many such examples might be added.

⁽⁵⁸⁾ The 7th, 8th, 29th, 30th, 31ft, 34th, 57th, 60th, 86th, and 95th articles of the Rule of Pachomius, impose most intole-sable laws of silence and mortification.

mechanics and peasants, who filled the monastic communities. They might work: but the vanity of spiritual perfection was tempted to disdain the exercise of manual labour; and the industry must be faint and languid, which is not excited

by the sense of personal interest.

According to their faith and zeal, they might Their deemploy the day, which they passed in their cells, votion and either in vocal or mental prayer: they affembled in the evening, and they were awakened in the night, for the public worship of the monastery. The precise moment was determined by the stars, which are feldom clouded in the ferene fky of Egypt; and a ruftic horn, or trumpet, the fignal of devotion, twice interrupted the vast filence of the defert (59). Even fleep, the last refuge of the unhappy, was rigoroufly meafured: the vacant hours of the monk heavily rolled along, without business or pleasure; and, before the close of each day, he had repeatedly accused the tedious progress of the Sun (60). In this comfortless state, superstition still pursued and tormented her wretched votaries (61). The repose which they had fought in the cloifter was diffurbed by tardy repentance, profane doubts, and guilty defires;

(59) The diurnal and nocturnal prayers of the monks are copioully discussed by Cassian in the third and fourth books of his Institutions; and he constantly prefers the liturgy, which an angel had dictated to the monasteries of Tabenne.

(60) Cassian, from his own experience, describes the acedia, or listlessness of mind and body, to which a monk was exposed, when he sighed to find himself alone. Sæpiusque egreditur et ingreditur cellam, et Solem velut ad occasum tardius properantem

crebrius intuetur (Institut. x. 1.).

(61) The temptations and fufferings of Stagirius were communicated by that unfortunate youth to his friend St. Chryfoltom. See Middleron's Works, vol. i. p. 107-110. Something similar introduces the life of every faint; and the famous Inigo, or Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits (Vie d'Inigo de Guiposcoa, tom. i. p. 29-38.) may ferve as a memorable example.

and, while they confidered each natural impulse as an unpardonable fin, they perpetually trembled on the edge of a flaming and bottomless abyss. From the painful struggles of disease and despair, these unhappy victims were sometimes relieved by madness or death; and, in the fixth century, an hospital was founded at Jerusalem for a small portion of the auftere penitents, who were deprived of their fenses (62). Their visions, before they attained this extreme and acknowledged term of frenzy, have afforded ample materials of supernatural history. It was their firm persuasion, that the air, which they breathed, was peopled with invisible enemies; with innumerable dæmons, who watched every occasion, and assumed every form, to terrify, and above all to tempt, their unguarded virtue. The imagination, and even the senses, were deceived by the illusions of diftempered fanaticism; and the hermit, whose midnight prayer was oppressed by involuntary flumber, might eafily confound the phantoms of horror or delight, which had occupied his fleeping, and his weaking dreams (63).

The Co-Anachopets.

The monks were divided into two classes: the nobites and Canobites, who lived under a common, and regular, discipline; and the Anachorets, who indulged their unfocial, independent, fanaticism

(64).

(62) Fleury, Hist. Ecclesiastique, tom. vii. p. 46. I have read somewhere, in the Vitæ Patrum, but I cannot recover the place, that feveral, I believe many, of the monks, who did not

reveal their temptations to the abbot, became guilty of suicide.

(63) See the seventh and eighth Collations of Cassian, who gravely examines, why the dæmons were grown less active and numerous, fince the time of St. Antony. Rosweyde's copious index to the Vivæ Patrum will point out a variety of infernal scenes. The devils were most formidable in a female shape.

(64). The most devout, or the most ambitious, of the spiritual brethren, renounced the convent, as they had renounced the world. The fervent monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, were furrounded by a Laura (65), a distant circle of folitary cells; and the extravagant penance of the Hermits was stimulated by applause and emulation (66). They funk under the painful weight of croffes and chains; and their emaciated limbs were confined by collars, bracelets, gauntlets, and greaves, of maffy, and rigid, iron. All superfluous incumbrance of dress they contemptuously cast away; and some savage saints of both fexes have been admired, whose naked bodies were only covered by their long hair. They aspired to reduce themselves to the rude and miserable state in which the human brute is scarcely distinguished above his kindred animals: and a nuerous fect of Anachorets derived their name from their humble practice of grazing in the fields of Mesopotamia with the common herd (67). They often usurped the den of some wild

(64) For the distinction of the Canobites and the Hermits, efpecially in Egypt, see Jerom (tom. i. p. 45. ad Rusticum), the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, Rufinus (c. 22. in Vit. Patrum, 1. ii. p. 478.), Palladius (c. 7. 69. in Vit. Patrum, l. viii. p. 712. 758.), and above all, the eighteenth and nineteenth Collations of Cassian. These writers, who compare the common, and solitary, life, reveal the abuse and danger of the latter.

(65) Suicer. Thefaur. Ecclefiast. tom. ii. p. 205. 218. Thomassin (Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. i. p. 1501, 1502.) gives a good account of these cells. When Gerasimus founded his monaftery, in the wilderness of Jordan, it was accompanied by a Laura

of feventy cells.

(66) Theodoret, in a large volume (the Philotheus in Vit. Patrum, l. ix. p. 793-863.), has collected the lives and miracles of thirty Anachorets. Evagrius (1 i. c. 12.) more briefly celebrates

the monks and hermits of Palettine.

(67) Sozomen, I. vi. c. 33. The great St. Ephrem composed 2 panegyric on these Bookos, or grazing monks (Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 292.).

beaft whom they affected to refemble; they buried themselves in some gloomy cavern, which art or nature had scooped out of the rock; and the marble quarries of Thebais are still inscribed with the monuments of their penance (68). The most perfect Hermits are supposed to have passed many days without food, many nights without fleep, and many years without speaking; and glorious was the man (I abuse that name) who contrived any cell, or feat, of a peculiar construction, which might expose him, in the most inconvenient posture, to the clemency of the seasons.

Simeon Stylites. -451.

Among these heroes of the monastic life, the A. D. 395 name and genius of Simeon Stylites (69) have been immortalized by the fingular invention of an aerial pennance. At the age of thirteen, the young Syrian deferted the profession of a shepherd, and threw himself into an austere monaste-After a long and painful noviciate, in which Simeon was repeatedly faved from pious suicide, he established his residence on a mountain, about thirty or forty miles to the East of Antioch. Within the space of a mandra, or circle of stones, to which he had attached himself by a ponderous chain, he ascended a column, which was succesfively raifed from the height of nine, to that of fixty, feet, from the ground (70). In this last,

> (68) The P. Steard (Missions du Levant, tom. ii. p. 217-233.) examined the caverns of the Lower Thebais, with wonder and devotion. The inscriptions are in the old Syriac character, which was used by the Christians of Habysfinia.

(70) The narrow circumference of two cubits, or three feet, which Evagrius assigns for the summit of the column, is incon-

⁽⁶⁹⁾ See Theodoret (in Vit. Patrum, 1. ix. p. 848-854.), Antony (in Vit. Patrum, 1. i. p. 170-177.), Cosmas (in Assertion) man. Bibliot. Oriental, tom. i. p. 239-253.), Evagrius (l. i. c. 13, 14.), and Tillemont (Mem. Ecclef. tom. xv. p. 347-392.).

and lofty, flation, the Syrian Anachoret refifted the heat of thirty fummers, and the cold of as many winters. Habit and exercise instructed him to maintain his dangerous fituation without fear or giddiness, and successively to assume the different postures of devotion. He sometimes prayed in an erect attitude, with his out-stretched arms. in the figure of a cross; but his most familiar practice was that of bending his meagre skeleton from the forehead to the feet: and a curious spectator, after numbering twelve hundred and fortyfour repetitions, at length defifted from the endless account. The progress of an ulcer in his thigh (71) might shorten, but it could not difturb, this celestial life; and the patient Hermit expired, without descending from his column. A prince, who should capriciously inflict such tortures, would be deemed a tyrant; but it would furpass the power of a tyrant, to impose a long and miserable existence on the reluctant victims of his cruelty. This voluntary martyrdom must have gradually destroyed the sensibility both of the mind and body; nor can it be prefumed that the fanatics, who torment themselves, are fusceptible of any lively affection for the rest of mankind. A cruel unfeeling temper has diffinguished the monks of every age and country: their stern indifference, which is seldom mollified by personal friendship, is inflamed by religious hatred; and their merciles zeal has strenuously administered the holy office of the Inquisition.

The

fiftent with reason, with facts, and with the rules of architecture. The people who saw it from below might be easily deceived.

⁽⁷¹⁾ I must not conceal a piece of ancient scandal concerning the origin of this ulcer. It has been reported that the Devil, assuming an angelic form, invited him to ascend, like Elijah, into a fiery chariot. The saint too hastily raised his soot, and Satan seized the moment of instituting this chastisement on his vanity,

Miracles and wormonks.

The monastic faints, who excite only the conthip of the tempt and pity of a philosopher, were respected, and almost adored, by the prince and people. Succeffive crowds of pilgrims from Gaul and India faluted the divine pillar of Simeon : the tribes of Saracens disputed in arms the honour of his benediction; the queens of Arabia and Persia gratefully confessed his supernatural virtue; and the angelic Hermit was confulted by the younger Theodosius, in the most important concerns of the church and state. His remains were transported from the mountain of Telenissa, by a solemn procession of the patriarch, the master-general of the East, fix bishops, twenty-one counts or tribunes, and fix thousand soldiers; and Antioch revered his bones, as her glorious ornament and impregnable defence. The fame of the apostles and martyrs was gradually eclipsed by these recent and popular Anachorets; the Christian world fell proftrate before their shrines; and the miracles ascribed to their relics exceeded, at least in number and duration, the spiritual exploits of their lives. But the golden legend of their lives (72) was embellished by the artful credulity of their interested brethren; and a believing age was eafily perfuaded, that the flightest caprice of an Egyptian or a Syrian monk, had been sufficient to interrupt the eternal laws of the The favourites of Heaven were acuniverse. customed to cure inveterate diseases with a touch. a word,

⁽⁷²⁾ I know not how to select or specify the miracles contained in the Vita Patrum of Rosweyde, as the number very much exceeds the thousand pages of that voluminous work. An elegant specimen may be found in the Dialogues of Suspicius Severus, and his life of St. Martin. He reveres the monks of Egypt; yet he infults them with the remark, that they never railed the dead; whereas the bishop of Tours had restored three dead men to life.

a word, or a diffant meffage; and to expel the most obstraigte dæmons from the souls, or bodies, which they possessed. They familiarly accosted, or imperioufly commanded, the lions and ferpents, of the deferts; infused vegetation into a fapless trunk; suspended iron on the surface of the water; passed the Nile on the back of a crocodile, and refreshed themselves in a fiery furnace. These extravagant tales, which display the fiction, without the genius, of poetry, have seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the Their credulity de-Superflitimorals, of the Christians. based and vitiated the faculties of the mind : on of the they corrupted the evidence of history; and fuperstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science. Every mode of religious worship which had been practifed by the faints, every mysterious doctrine which they believed, was fortified by the fanction of divine revelation, and all the manly virtues were oppressed by the fervile and pufillanimous reign of the If it be possible to measure the interval, monks. between the philosophic writings of Cicero and the facred legend of Theodoret, between the character of Cato and that of Simeon, we may appreciate the memorable revolution which was accomplished in the Roman empire within a period of five hundred years.

II. The progress of Christianity has been II. Conmarked by two glorious and decisive victories: VERSION
over the learned and luxurious citizens of the BARBARIRoman empire; and over the warlike Barbarians Ans.
of Scythia and Germany, who subverted the empire, and embraced the religion, of the Romans.
The Goths were the foremost of these savage
proselytes; and the nation was indebted for its
conversion to a countryman, or, at least, to a
subject,

fubject, worthy to be ranked among the inventors of useful arts, who have deserved the remembrance and gratitude of posterity. A great number of Roman provincials had been led away into captivity by the Gothic bands, who ravaged Asia in the time of Gallienus: and of these captives, many were Christians, and feveral belonged to the ecclefiaftical order. Those involuntary missionaries, dispersed as slaves in the villages of Dacia, succeffively laboured for the salvation of The feeds, which they planted of their mafters. the evangelic doctrine, were gradually propagated; and, before the end of a century, the pious work was atchieved by the labours of Ulphilas, whose ancestors had been transported beyond the Danube from a small town of Cappadocia.

Ulphilas, apostle of

the Goths, (73), acquired their love and reverence by his A. D. 360, blameless life and indefatigable zeal; and they received, with implicit confidence, the doctrines of truth and virtue, which he preached and practised. He executed the arduous task of translating the Scriptures into their native tongue, a dialect of the German, or Teutonic, language; but he prudently suppressed the four books of Kings, as they might tend to irritate the fierce and fanguinary spirit of the Barbarians. The rude, imperfect, idiom of foldiers and shepherds, so illqualified to communicate any spiritual ideas, was improved and modulated by his genius; and Ulphilas, before he could frame his version, was obliged to compose a new alphabet of twentyfour

Ulphilas, the bishop and apostle of the Goths

⁽⁷³⁾ On the subject of Ulphilas, and the conversion of the Goths. See Sozomen, l. vi. c. 37. Socrates, l. iv. c. 33. Theodoret, l. iv. c. 37. Philostorg. l. ii. c. 5. The heresy of Philostorgius appears to have given him superior means of information.

four letters; four of which he invented, to express the peculiar founds that were unknown to the Greek, and Latin, prounciation (74). But the prosperous state of the Gothic church was foon afflicted by war and intestine discord, and the chieftains were divided by religion as well as by interest. Fritigern, the friend of the Romans, became the profelyte of Ulphilas; while the haughty foul of Athanaric disdained the yoke of the empire, and of the Gospel. The faith of the new converts was tried by the perfecution which he excited. A waggon, bearing aloft the shapeless image, of Thor, perhaps, or of Woden, was conducted in folemn procession through the streets of the camp; and the rebels, who refused to worship the God of their fathers, were immediately burnt, with their tents and families. The character of Ulphilas recommended him to the esteem of the Eastern court, where he twice appeared as the minister of peace; he pleaded the cause of the diffressed Goths, who implored the protection of Valens; and the name of Moses was applied to this spiritual guide, who conducted his people, through the deep waters of the Danube, to the Land of Promise (75). The devout shepherds, who were attached to his person, and tractable to his voice, acquiesced in their settlement, at the foot of the Mæsian mountains, VOL. VI.-F

(75) Philostorgius erroncously places this passage under the reign of Constantine; but I am much inclined to believe that it

preceded the great emigration.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ A mutilated copy of the four Gospels, in the Gothic version, was published A. D. 1665, and is esteemed the most ancient monument of the Teutonic language, though Wessein attempts, by some frivolous conjectures, to deprive Ulphilas of the honour of the work. Two of the four additional letters express the W, and our own Th. See Smon. Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, tom. ii. p. 219—223. Mill. Prolegom. p. 151. ed.t. Kuster. Wessein, Prolegom. tom. i. p. 114.

in a country of woodlands and pastures, which supported their flocks and herds, and enabled them to purchase the corn and wine of the more plentiful provinces. These harmless Barbarians multiplied, in obscure peace, and the profession

of Christianity (76).

TheGoths, Vandals, Burgundians, &c. embrace Christianity, &c.

Their fiercer brethren, the formidable Vifigoths, univerfally adopted the religion of the Romans, with whom they maintained a perpetual intercourse, of war, of friendship, or of conquest. In their long and victorious march from the A.D. 400, Danube to the Atlantic ocean, they converted their allies; they educated the rifing generation; and the devotion which reigned in the camp of Alaric, or the court of Thoulouse, might edify, or diffrace, the palaces of Rome and Constantinople (77). During the same period, Christianity was embraced by almost all the Barbarians, who established their kingdoms on the ruins of the Western empire; the Burgundians in Gaul, the Suevi in Spain, the Vandals in Africa, the Oftrogoths in Pannonia, and the various bands of Mercenaries, that raised Odoacer to the throne of The Franks and the Saxons still persevered in the errors of Paganism; but the Franks obtained the monarchy of Gaul by their fubmiffion to the example of Clovis; and the Saxon conquerors of Britain were reclaimed from their favage superstition by the missionaries of Rome. These Barbarian proselytes displayed an ardent

(77) At non ita Gothi non ita Vandali; malis licet doctoribus instituti, meliores tarzen etiam in hac parte quam nostri. Salvian de Gubern, Dei, 1, vii. p. 243.

⁽⁷⁶⁾ We are obliged to Jornandes (de Reb. Get. c. 51. p. 688.) for a fhort and lively picture of these lesser Goths. Gothi Minores, The last words, if they are not mere tautology, imply some temporal jurisdiction.

and successful zeal in the propagation of the faith. The Merovingian kings, and their successors, Charlemagne and the Othos, extended, by their laws and victories, the dominion of the cross. England produced the apostle of Germany; and the avengelic light was gradually diffused from the neighbourhood of the Rhine, to the nations of the Elbe, the Vistula, and the Baltic (78).

The different motives which influenced the Motives of reason, or the passions, of the Barbarian converts, their faith. cannot eafily be afcertained. They were often capricious and accidental; a dream, an omen, the report of a miracle, the example of some prieft, or hero, the charms of a believing wife, and above all, the fortunate event of a prayer, or vow, which, in a moment of danger, they had addressed to the God of the Christians (79). The early prejudices of education were infenfibly erazed by the habits of frequent and familiar fociety; the moral precepts of the Gospel were protected by the extravagant virtues of the monks; and a spiritual theology was supported by the vifible power of relics, and the pomp of religious worship. But the rational and ingenious mode of perfuafion, which a Saxon bishop (80) fuggefted to a popular faint, might fometimes be employed by the missionaries, who laboured for R 2

⁽⁷⁸⁾ Mosheim has slightly sketched the progress of Christianity in the North, from the fourth to the fourteenth century. The subject would afford materials for an ecclesiastical, and even philosophical, history.

⁽⁷⁹⁾ To such a cause has Socrates (l. vii. c. 30.) ascribed the convertion of the Burgundians, whose Christian piety is celebrated by Orosius (l. vii. c. 19.)

⁽⁸⁰⁾ See an original and curious epistle from Daniel, the first bishop of Winchester (Beda, Hist. Eccles. Anglorum, l. v. c. 18. p. 203. edit. Smith), to St. Boniface, who preached the Gospet among the Savages of Hesse and Thuringia. Epistol. Bonifacii, lxvii. in the Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xiii. p. 93.

the conversion of infidels. " Admit," fays the fagacious disputant, " whatever they are pleased " to affert of the fabulous, and carnal, genealo-" gy of their gods and goddesses, who are pro-" pagated from each other. From this principle deduce their imperfect nature, and human in-" firmities, the affurance they were born, and "the probability that they will die. At what "time, by what means, from what cause, were " the eldeft of the gods or goddeffes produced? " Do they still continue, or have they ceased, to " propagate? If they have ceased, summon your antagonists to declare the reason of this " strange alteration. If they still continue, the " number of the gods must become infinite; and " shall we not risk, by the indiscreet worship of " fome impotent deity, to excite the refentment of his jealous superior? The visible " heavens and earth, the whole system of the " universe, which may be conceived by the mind, is it created or eternal? If created, how, or where, could the gods themselves exist before " the creation? If eternal, how could they afso fume the empire of an independent and pre-" existing world? Urge these arguments with " temper and moderation; infinuate, at feafon-" able intervals, the truth, and beauty, of the " Christian revelation; and endeavour to make " the unbelievers ashamed, without making them " angry." This metaphyfical reasoning, too refined perhaps for the Barbarians of Germany, was fortified by the groffer weight of authority and popular confent. The advantage of temporal prosperity had deserted the Pagan cause, and pasfed over to the service of Christianity. The Romans themselves, the most powerful and enlightened nation of the globe, had renounced their their ancient superstition; and, if the ruin of their empire seemed to accuse the efficacy of the new faith, the disgrace was already retrieved by the conversion of the victorious Goths. The valiant and fortunate Barbarians, who subdued the provinces of the West, successively received, and reslected, the same edifying example. Before the age of Charlemagne, the Christian nations of Europe might exult in the exclusive possession of the temperate climates, of the fertile lands, which produced corn, wine, and oil; while the savage idolaters, and their helpless idols, were confined to the extremities of the earth, the dark and frozen regions of the North (81).

Christianity, which opened the gates of Hea-Esseds of ven to the Barbarians, introduced an important their conchange in their moral and political condition.

They received, at the same time, the use of let-

ters, so essential to a religion whose doctrines are contained in a facred book; and while they ftudied the divine truth, their minds were infenfibly enlarged by the distant view of history, of nature, of the arts, and of fociety. The version of the Scriptures into their native tongue, which had facilitated their conversion, must excite, among their clergy, some curiofity to read the original text, to understand the sacred liturgy of the church, and to examine, in the writings of the fathers, the chain of ecclefiaftical tradition. These spiritual gifts were preserved in the Greek and Latin languages, which concealed the ineftimable monuments of ancient learning. The immortal productions of Virgil, Cicero, and Livy, which were accessible to the Christian Barbarians,

main-

⁽⁸¹⁾ The fword of Charlemagne added weight to the argument; but when Daniel wrote this epiftle (A. D. 723.) the Mahometans, who reigned from India to Spain, might have retorted it against the Christians.

maintained a filent intercourse between the reign of Augustus, and the times of Clovis and Charlemagne. The emulation of mankind was encouraged by the remembrance of a more perfect state; and the flame of science was secretly kept alive, to warm and enlighten the mature age of the Western world. In the most corrupt state of Christianity, the Barbarians might learn justice from the law, and mercy from the gospel; and if the knowledge of their duty was infufficient to guide their actions, or to regulate their passions; they were fometimes restrained by conscience, and frequently punished by remorfe But the direct authority of religion was less effectual, than the holy communion which united them with their Christian brethren in spiritual friendship. influence of these sentiments contributed to fecure their fidelity in the fervice, or the alliance, of the Romans, to alleviate the horrors of war, to moderate the infolence of conquest, and to preserve, in the empire, a permanent respect for the name and institutions of Rome. In the days of Paganism, the priests of Gaul and Germany reigned over the people, and controuled the jurisdiction of the magistrates; and the zealous profelytes transferred an equal, or more ample, measure of devout obedience, to the pontiffs of the Christian faith. The facred character of the bishops was supported by their temporal possessions; they obtained an honourable feat in the legiflative affemblies of foldiers and freemen; and it was their interest, as well as their duty, to mollify, by peaceful counsels, the fierce spirit of the Barbarians. The perpetual correspondence of the Latin clergy, the frequent pilgrimages to Rome and Jerusalem, and the growing authority of the Popes, cemented the union of the Christian republic ;

public: and gradually produced the fimilar manners, and common jurisprudence, which have diftinguished, from the rest of mankind, the independent, and even hostile, nations of modern

Europe.

But the operation of these causes was checked They are and retarded by the unfortunate accident, which involved in the Arian infused a deadly poison into the cup of Salvation, hereiv. Whatever might be the early fentiments of Ulphilas, his connections with the empire and the church were formed during the reign of Arian-The apostle of the Goths subscribed the creed of Rimini; professed with freedom, and perhaps with fincerity, that the Son was not equal, or confubstantial to the FATHER (82); communicated these errors to the clergy and people; and infefted the Barbaric world with an herefy (83), which the great Theodofius profcribed and extinguished among the Romans. The temper and understanding of the new proselytes were not adapted to metaphyfical fubtleties; but they strenuously maintained, what they had piously received, as the pure and genuine doctrines of Christianity. The advantage of preaching and expounding the Scriptures in the Teutonic language, promoted the apostolic labours of Ulphi-

(82) The opinions of Ulphilas and the Goths inclined to Semi-Arianism since they would not say that the Son was a creature, though they held communion with those who maintained that herefy. Their apostle represented the whole controversy as a question of trifling moment, which had been raifed by the passions of the clergy. Theodoret. I. iv. c. 37.

⁽⁸³⁾ The Arianism of the Goths has been imputed to the emperor Valens: " Itaque justo Dei judicio ipfi eum vivum incende-" runt, qui propter eum etiam mortui, vitio erroris arfuri funt." Orofius, I. vii. c. 33. p. 554. This cruel sentence is confirmed by Tillemont (Mem. Ecclef. tom. vi. p. 604-610.), who coolly observes, " un seul homme entraina dans l'enser un nombre infini 66 de Septentrionaux, &c." Salvian (de Gubern. Dei, 1, v. p. 150, 151.) pities and excuses their involuntary error.

las, and his fucceffors; and they ordained a competent number of bishops and presbyters, for the instruction of the kindred tribes. The Offrogoths, the Burgundians, the Suevi, and the Vandals, who had liftened to the eloquence of the Latin clergy (84), preferred the more intelligible lessons of their domestic teachers; and Arianism was adopted as the national faith of the warlike converts, who were feated on the ruins of the Western empire. This irreconcileable difference of religion was a perpetual fource of jealoufy and hatred; and the reproach of Barbarian was embittered by the more odious epithet of Heretic. The heroes of the North, who had submitted, with some reluctance, to believe that all their anceftors were in Hell (85); were aftonished and exasperated to learn, that they themselves had only changed the mode of their eternal condem-Instead of the smooth applause, which nation. Christian kings are accustomed to expect from their loyal prelates, the orthodox bishops and their clergy were in a state of opposition to the Arian courts; and their indifcreet opposition frequently became criminal, and might fometimes be dangerous (86). The pulpit, that fafe and facred organ of fedition, refounded with the names of Pharaoh

(84) Orofius affirms, in the year 416 (1. vii. c. 41. p. 580.), that the churches of Christ (of the Catholics) were filled with Huns, Suevi, Vandals, Burgundians.

(85) Radbod, king of the Frisons, was so much scandalized by this rash declaration of a missionary, that he drew back his foot after he had entered the baptismal font. See Fleury Hist. Eccles.

tom. ix. p. 167.

(86) The Epiftles of Sidonius, bishop of Clermont, under the Visigoths, and of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, under the Burgundians, explain, sometimes in dark hints, the general dispositions of the Catholics. The history of Clovis and Theodoric will suggest some particular facts.

Pharaoh and Holofernes (87); the public discontent was inflamed by the hope or promise of a glorious deliverance; and the feditious faints were tempted to promote the accomplishment of their own predictions. Notwithstanding these provo-General cations, the Catholics of Gaul, Spain, and Italy, toleration. enjoyed, under the reign of the Arians, the free, and peaceful, exercise of their religion. Their haughty masters respected the zeal of a numerous people, resolved to die at the foot of their altars; and the example of their devout constancy was admired and imitated by the Barbarians them-The conquerors evaded, however, the difgraceful reproach, or confession, of fear, by attributing their toleration to the liberal motives of reason and humanity; and while they affected the language, they imperceptibly imbibed the fpirit, of genuine Christianity.

The peace of the church was sometimes inter-Arian perrupted. The Catholics were indiscreet, the Bar-secution of
barians were impatient; and the partial acts of the Vanseverity or injustice which had been recommended by the Arian clergy, were exaggerated by the
orthodox writers. The guilt of persecution may
be imputed to Euric, king of the Visigeths; who
suspended the exercise of ecclesiastical, or at least,
of episcopal, functions; and punished the popular bishops of Aquitain with imprisonment, exile, and confiscation (88). But the cruel and absurd enterprise of subduing the minds of a whole

people,

(87) Genseric confessed the resemblance, by the severity with which he punished such indiscreet allusions. Victor Vitensis, 1.

⁽⁸⁸⁾ Such are the contemporary complaints of Sidonius, bift op of Clermont (l. vii. c. 6. p. 182, &c. edit. Sirmond.). Gregory of Tours, who quotes this Epistle (l. ii. c. 25. in tom. ii. p. 174.) extorts an unwarrantable affertion, that of the nine vacancies in Aquitain, some had been produced by episcopal martyrdoms.

people, was undertaken by the Vandals alone. Genseric himself, in his early youth, had renounc-Genferic, A.D. 429 ed the orthodox communion; and the apostate

could neither grant, nor expect, a fincere forgiveness. He was exasperated to find, that the Africans, who had fled before him in the field, still prefumed to dispute his will in fynods and churches; and his ferocious mind was incapable of fear, or of compassion. His Catholic subjects were oppressed by intolerant laws, and arbitrary punishments. The language of Genseric was furious, and formidable; the knowledge of his intentions might justify the most unfavourable interpretation of his actions; and the Arians were reproached with the frequent executions, which stained the palace, and the dominions, of the tyrant. Arms and ambition were, however, the ruling passions of the monarch of the sea. But numeric, Hunneric, his inglorious son, who seemed to in-A. D. 477. herit only his vices, tormented the Catholics with

the same unrelenting fury, which had been fatal to his brother, his nephews, and the friends and favourites of his father; and, even to the Arian patriarch, who was inhumanly burnt alive in the midst of Carthage. The religious war was preceded and prepared by an infidious truce; perfecution was made the ferious and important bufiness of the Vandal court; and the loathsome disease, which hastened the death of Hunneric, revenged the injuries, without contributing to the deliverance, of the church. The throne of Africa was fuccessively filled by the two nephews of Hunneric; by Gundamund, who reigned about A. D. 484. twelve, and by Thrasimund, who governed the nation above twenty-leven years. Their administration was hostile and oppressive to the orthodox party. Gundamund appeared to emulate, or

even

Gundamund,

even to furpass, the cruelty of his uncle; and, if at length he relented, if he recalled the bishops, and restored the freedom of Athanasian worship, a præmature death intercepted the benefits of his taidy clemency. His brother, Thrasimund, was Thrasithe greatest and most accomplished of the Van-mund, dal kings, whom he excelled in beauty, prudence, A.D. 496, and magnanimity of foul. But this magnanimous character was degraded by his intolerant zeal and deceitful clemency. Instead of threats and tortures, he employed the gentle, but efficacious, powers of seduction. Wealth, dignity, and the royal favour, were the liberal rewards of apostacy; the Catholics, who had violated the laws, might purchase their pardon by the renunciation of their faith; and whenever Thrasimund meditated any rigorous measure, he patiently waited till the indifcretion of his adversaries furnished him with a specious opportunity. Bigotry was his last fentiment in the hour of death; and he exacted from his fucceffor a folemn oath, that he would never tolerate the fectaries of Athanafius. But his fuccessor, Hilderic, the gentle son of the Hilderic, favage Hunneric, preferred the duties of huma-A.D. 523. nity and justice, to the vain obligation of an impious oath; and his accession was gloriously marked by the restoration of peace and universal free-The throne of that virtuous, though feeble monarch, was usurped by his cousin Gelimer, Gelimer, a zealous Arian: but the Vandal kingdom, be-A.D. 5300 fore he could enjoy or abuse his power, was subverted by the arms of Belifarius; and the orthodox party retaliated the injuries which they had endured (89).

The

⁽⁸⁹⁾ The original monuments of the Vandal persecution are preserved in the five books of the History of Victor Vitensis (de

A general

The passionate declamations of the Catholics, persecution the sole historians of this persecution, cannot afin Africa. ford any diffinct feries of causes and events; any impartial view of characters, or counsels; but the most remarkable circumstances, that deserve either credit or notice, may be referred to the following heads: L In the original law, which is still extant (90), Hunneric expressly declares, and the declaration appears to be correct, that he had faithfully transcribed the regulations and penalties of the Imperial edicts; against the heretical congregations, the clergy, and the people, who diffented from the established religion. If the rights of conscience had been understood, the Catholics must have condemned their past conduct, or acquiefced in their actual fufferings. But they still persisted to refuse the indulgence which they claimed. While they trembled under the lath of persecution, they praised the laudable severity of Hunneric himself, who burnt or banished great numbers of Manichæans (91); and they rejected, with horror, the ignominious compromise, that the disciples of Arius, and of Athanasius, should enjoy a reciprocal and similar toleration

> (de Persecutione Vandalica), a bishop who was exiled by Hunneric; in the Life of St. Fulgentius, who was distinguished in the perfection of Thrasimond (in Biblioth. Max. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 4-16.), and in the first book of the Vandalic War, by the impartial Procopius (c. 7, 8. p. 196, 197, 198, 199.). Dom Ruinart, the last editor of Victor, has illustrated the whole subject with a copious and learned apparatus of notes and supplement (Paris, 1634.).

> (90) Victor. iv. 2. p. 65. Hunneric refuses the name of Catholics to the Homooustans. He describes, as the veri Diving Majestatis cultores, his own party, who professed the faith, confirmed by more than a thousand bishops, in the synods of Rimini and

Seleucia.

(91) Victor. ii. 1. p. 21, 22. Laudabilior . . . videbatur. In the MSS. which omit this word, the passage is unintelligible. See Ruinart, Not. p. 164.

toleration in the territories of the Romans, and in those of the Vandals (92). II. The practice of a conference, which the Catholics had fo frequently used to infult and punish their obstinate antagonists, was retorted against themselves (93). At the command of Hunneric, four hundred and fixty-fix orthodox bishops affembled at Carthage; but when they were admitted into the hall of audience, they had the mortification of beholding the Arian Cirila exalted on the patriarchal throne. The disputants were separated, after the mutual and ordinary reproaches of noise and silence, of delay and precipitation, of military force and of popular clamour. One martyr and one confessor were selected among the Catholic bishops; twenty-eight escaped by flight, and eighty-eight by conformity; forty-fix were fent into Corfica to cut timber for the royal navy; and three hundred and two were banished to the different parts of Africa, exposed to the infults of their enemies. and carefully deprived of all the temporal and spiritual comforts of life (94). The hardships of ten years exile must have reduced their numbers; and if they had complied with the law of Thrafimund, which prohibited any episcopal confecrations, the orthodox church of Africa must have expired with the lives of its actual members. They

(92) Victor. ii. 2. p. 22, 23. The clergy of Carthage called these conditions, periculosa; and they seem, indeed, to have been proposed as a smare to entrap the Catholic bishops.

(93) See the narrative of this conference, and the treatment of the bishops, in Victor. ii. 13—18. p. 35—42. and the whole fourth book, p. 63—171. The third book, p. 42—62. is entirely filled by their apology or confession of faith.

(94) See the list of the African bishops, in Victor. p. 117-140. and Ruinart's notes, p. 215-397. The schismatic name of Donatus frequently occurs, and they appear to have adopted (like our fanatics of the last age) the pious appellations of Deodatus, Deogratias, Quidvultdeus, Habetdeum, &c.

They disobeyed; and their disobedience was punished by a second exile of two hundred and twenty bishops into Sardinia; where they languished fifteen years, till the accession of the gracious Hilderic (95). The two islands were judiciously choten by the malice of their Arian tyrants. Seneca, from his own experience, has deplored and exaggerated the miserable state of Corfica (96), and the plenty of Sardinia was overbalanced by the unwholesome quality of the air (97). III. The zeal of Genseric, and his succeffors, for the conversion of the Catholics, must have rendered them still more jealous to guard the purity of the Vandal faith. Before the churches were finally thut, it was a crime to appear in a Barbarian dress; and those who presumed to neglect the royal mandate, were rudely dragged backwards by their long hair (98). The Palatine officers, who refused to profess the religion of their prince, were ignominiously stripped of their honours, and employments; banished to Sardinia and Sicily; or condemned to the fervile labours

(95) Fulgent. Vit. c. 16—29. Thrasimund affected the praise of moderation and learning; and Fulgentius addressed three books of controversy to the Arian tyrant, whom he styles pissime Rex. Biblioth. Maxim. Patrum, tom. ix. p. 41. Only sixty bishops are mentioned as exiles in the life of Fulgentius, they are increased to one hundred and twenty by Victor Tunnunensis, and Isidore; but the number of two hundred and twenty is specified in the Historia Miscella, in a short authentic chronicle of the times. See Ruinart. p. 570, 571.

(96) See the base and insipid epigrams of the Stoic, who could not support exile with more fortitude than Ovid. Corsica might not produce corn, wine, or oil; but it could not be destitute of

grafs, water, and even fire.

(97) Si ob gravitatem coeli interiffent, wile damnum. Tacit. Annal. ii, 85. In this application, Thrafimund would have adopted the reading of some critics, utile damnum.

(98) See these preludes of a general persecution, in Victor. ii. 3, 4, 7. and the two edicts of Hunneric, 1. ii. p. 35. l. iv. p. 64.

labours of flaves and peafants in the fields of Utica. In the diffricts which had been peculiarly allotted to the Vandals, the exercise of the Catholic worship was more strictly prohibited; and fevere penalties were denounced against the guilt, both of the missionary, and the proselyte. these arts, the faith of the Barbarians was preferved, and their zeal was inflamed: they difcharged, with devout fury, the office of spies, informers, or executioners; and whenever their cavalry took the field, it was the favourite amusement of the march, to defile the churches, and to infult the clergy of the adverse faction (99): IV. The citizens who had been educated in the luxury of the Roman province, were delivered, with exquifite cruelty, to the Moors of the defert. A venerable train of bishops, presbyters, and deacons, with a faithful crowd of four thousand and nine-fix persons, whose guilt is not precisely ascertained, were torn from their native homes, by the command of Hunneric. During the night they were confined, like a herd of cattle, amidst their own ordure: during the day they purfued their march over the burning fands; and if they fainted under the heat and fatigue, they were goaded, or dragged along, till they expired in the hands of their tormentors (100). These unhappy exiles, when they reached the Moorish huts, might excite the compassion of a people, whose native humanity was neither improved by reason, nor corrupted by fanaticism: but if they escaped the dangers, they were condemned to share the distress.

⁽⁹⁹⁾ See Procopius de Bell. Vandal. I. i. c. 7. p. 197, 198. A Moorish prince endeavoured to propitiate the God of the Christians, by his diligence to eraze the marks of the Vandal sacrilege. (100) See this story in Victor. ii. 8—12. p. 30—34. Victor describes the distress of these confessors as an eye-witness.

diffress, of a savage life. V. It is incumbent on the authors of perfecution previously to reflect, whether they are determined to support it in the last extreme They excite the flame which they strive to extinguish; and it soon becomes necessary to chastife the contumacy, as well as the crime, of the offender. The fine, which he is unable or unwilling, to discharge, exposes his person to the feverity of the law; and his contempt of lighter penalties suggests the use and propriety of capital punishment. Through the veil of fiction and declamation, we may clearly perceive, that the Catholics, more especially under the reign of Hunneric, endured the most cruel and ignominious treatment (101). Respectable citizens, noble matrons, and confecrated virgins, were stripped naked, and raised in the air by pullies, with a weight suspended at their feet. In this painful attitude their naked bodies were torn with scourges, or burnt in the most tender parts with red-hot plates of iron. The amputation of the ears, the nose, the tongue, and the right-hand, was inflicted by the Arians; and although the precise number cannot be defined, it is evident that many persons, among whom a bishop (102) and a proconful (103) may be named, were entitled to the crown of martyrdom. The fame honour has been ascribed to the memory of count Sebastian, who professed the Nicene creed with unshaken conftancy:

⁽¹⁰¹⁾ See the fifth book of Victor. His passionate complaints are confirmed by the sober testimony of Procopius, and the public declaration of the emperor Justinian. (Cod. l. i. tit. xxvii.)

⁽¹⁰²⁾ Victor. ii. 18. p. 41.
(103) Victor. v. 4. p. 74, 75. His name was Victorianus, and he was a wealthy citizen of Adrumetum, who enjoyed the confidence of the king; by whose favour he had obtained the office, or at least the title, of proconful of Africa.

constancy; and Genseric might detest, as an heretic, the brave and ambitious fugitive whom he dreaded as a rival (104). VI. A new mode of conversion, which might subdue the feeble, and alarm the timorous, was employed by the Arian ministers. They imposed, by fraud or violence, the rites of baptifin; and punished the apostacy of the Catholics, if they disclaimed this odious and profane ceremony, which fcandaloufly violated the freedom of the will, and the unity of the facrament (105). The hostile fects had formerly allowed the validity of each other's baptailm; and the innovation, fo fiercely maintained by the Vandals, can be imputed only to the example and advice of the Donatifts. VII, The Arian clergy surpassed, in religious cruelty, the king and his Vandals; but they were incapable of cultivating the spiritual vineyard, which they were fo defirous to possess. A patriarch (106) might feat himself on the throne of Carthage; fome bishops, in the principal cities, might usurp the place of their rivals; but the smallness of their numbers, and their ignorance of the Latin language (107), disqualified the Barbarians for the ecclefiaftical ministry of a great church; and VOL. VI.-F

(104) Victor. i. 6, p. 8, 9. After relating the firm resistance and dextrous reply of count Sebastian, he adds, quare also generis argumento postea bellicosum virum occidit.

(105) Victor. v. 12, 13. Tillemont, Mem. Ecclef. tom. vi.

p. 609.

(106) Primate was more properly the title of the bishop of Carchage: but the name of patriarch was given by the fects and nations to their principal ecclesiatic. See Thomassia, Discipline

de l'Eglife, tom. i. p. 155. 158.

(107) The patriarch Cycila himself publicly declared, that he did not understand Latin (Victor. ii. 18. p. 42.); Nescio Latine; and he might converse with tolerable ease, without being capable of disputing or pre-ching in that language. His Vandal clergy were still more ignorant; and small considence could be placed in the Africans who had conformed.

the Africans, after the loss of their orthodox pastors, were deprived of the public exercise of Christianity. VIII. The emperors were the natural protectors of the Homoousian doctrine; and the faithful people of Africa, both as Romans and as Catholics, preferred their lawful fovereignty to the usurpation of the Barbarous heretics. During an interval of peace and friendship, Hunneric restored the cathedral of Carthage; at the intercession of Zeno, who reigned in the East, and of Placidia, the daughter and relict of emperors, and the fifter of the queen of the Vandals (108). But this decent regard was of short duration; and the haughty tyrant displayed his contempt for the religion of the Empire, by fludioufly arranging the bloody images of perfecution, in all the principal streets through which the Roman ambaffador must pass in his way to the palace (109). An oath was required from the bishops, who were assembled at Carthage, that they would support the succession of his fon Hilderic, and that they would renounce all foreign or transmarine correspondence. This engagement, confistent as it should feem, with their moral and religious duties, was refused by the more fagacious members (110) of the affembly. Their refusal, faintly coloured by the pretence that it is unlawful for a Christian to swear, must provoke the fuspicions of a jealous tyrant.

The

(108) Victor. ii. 1, 2. p. 22. (109) Victor. v. 7. p. 77. He appeals to the ambassador himfeif, whose name was Uranius.

⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ Aflutiores, Victor. iv. 4. p. 70. He plainly intimates that their quotation of the Gospel "Non jurabitis in toto," was only meant to elude the obligation of an inconvenient oath. The forty-fix bishops who refused were banished to Corfica; the three hundred and two who fwore, were distributed through the provinces of Africa.

The Catholics, oppressed by royal and milita-Catholic ry force, were far superior to their adversaries in frauds, numbers and learning. With the same weapons which the Greek (111) and Latin fathers had already provided for the Arian controversy, they repeatedly filenced, or vanquished, the fierce and illiterate successors of Ulphilas. The consciousness of their own superiority might have raised them above the arts, and passions, of religious Yet, instead of affuming such honourwarfare. able pride, the orthodox theologians were tempted, by the affurance of impunity, to compole fictions, which must be stigmatized with the epithets of fraud and forgery. They ascribed their own polemical works to the most venerable names of Christian antiquity: the characters of Athanafius and Augustin were aukwardly personated by Vigilius and his disciples (112); and the famous creed, which fo clearly expounds the myfteries of the Trinity and the Incarnation, is deduced, with strong probability, from this African school (113). Even the Scriptures them-

(111) Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspæ, in the Byzacene province, was of a senatorial family, and had received a liberal education. He could repeat all Homer and Menander before he was allowed to study Latin, his native tongue (Vit. Fulgent. c. 1.). Many African bishops might understand Greek, and many Greek theologians were translated into Latin.

(112) Compare the two prefaces to the Dialogue of Vigilius of Thapfus (p. 118, 119. edit. Chiflet). He might amuse his learned reader with an innocent siction; but the subject was too grave,

and the Africans were too ignorant.

(113) The P. Quesnel started this opinion, which has been favourably received. But the three following truths, however surprising they may seem, are now universally acknowledged (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 516—522. Tillemont, Mem. Eccles. tom. viii. p. 667—671.).

1. St. Athanasius is not the author of the creed which is so frequently read in our churches.

2. It does not appear to have existed, within a century after his death.

3. It was originally composed in the Latin tongue, and, consequently.

felves were profaned by their rash and sacrilegious hands. The memorable text, which asserts the unity of the Three who bear witness in heaven (114), is condemned by the universal silence of the orthodox sathers, ancient versions, and authentic manuscripts (115). It was first alleged by the Catholic bishops whom Hunneric summoned to the conference of Carthage (116). An allegorical interpretation, in the form, perhaps, of a marginal note, invaded the text of the Latin Bibles, which were renewed and corrected in a dark period of ten centuries (117). After the invention of printing (118), the editors of the Greek

in the Western provinces. Gennadius, patriarch of Constantinople, was so much amazed by this extraordinary composition, that he frankly pronounced it to be the work of a drunken man. Petay. Dogmat. Theologica, tom, ii. l. vii. c. 8, p. 687.

tav. Dogmat. Theologica, tom. ii. l. vii. c. 8. p. 687.

(114) I John v. 7. See Simon, Hist. Critique du Nouveau Testament, part i. c. xviii. p. 203—218.; and part ii. c. ix. p. 99—121.: and the elaborate Prolegomena and Annotations of Dr. Mill and Wetstein to their editions of the Greek Testament. In 1689, the papist Simon strove to be free; in 1707, the protestant Mill wished to be a slave; in 1751, the Arminian Wetstein used

the liberty of his times, and of his fect.

(115) Of all the MSS. now extant, above fourfcore in number, some of which are more than 1200 years old (Wetstein ad loc.). The orthodox copies of the Vatican, of the Complutensian editors, of Robert Stephens, are become invisible; and the two MSS. of Dublin and Berlin are unworthy to form an exception. See Emlyn's Works, vol. ii. p. 227—255. 269—299; and M. de Missy's four ingenious letters, in tom. viii. and ix. of the Journal Britannique.

(116) Or, more properly, by the four bishops who composed and published the profession of faith in the name of their brethren. They style this text, suce clarius (Victor Vitensis de Persecut. Vandal. I. iii. c. 11. p. 54.). It is quoted foon afterwards by

the African polemics, Vigilius and Fulgentius.

(117) In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Bibles were corrected by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, and by Nicolas, cardinal and librarian of the Roman church, secundum orthodoxam fidem (Wetstein, Prolegon, p. 84, 85). Notwithstanding these corrections, the passage is still wanting in twenty-five Latin MSS. (Wetstein ad loc.), the oldest and the fairest; two qualities seldom united, except in manuscripts.

(118) The art which the Germans had invented was applied in

Greek Testament yielded to their own prejudices, or those of the times (119); and the pious fraud, which was embraced with equal zeal at Rome and at Geneva, has been infinitely multiplied in every country and every language of

modern Europe.

The example of fraud must excite suspicion; and miraand the specious miracles by which the African cles, Catholics have defended the truth and justice of their cause, may be ascribed, with more reason, to their own industry, than to the visible protection of Heaven. Yet the historian, who views this religious conflict with an impartial eye, may condescend to mention one preternatural event, which will edify the devout, and furprise the incredulous. Tipasa (120), a maritime colony of Mauritania, fixteen miles to the east of Cæsarea, had been diffinguished, in every age, by the orthodox zeal of its inhabitants. They had braved the fury of the Donatists (121); they resisted, or eluded, the tyranny of the Arians. The town was deferted on the approach of an heretical bishop: most of the inhabitants who could procure

Italy to the profane writers of Rome and Greece. The original Greek of the New Testament was published about the same time (A. D. 1514. 1516. 1520.) by the industry of Erasmus, and the munificence of Cardinal Ximenes. The Complutensian Polygot cost the cardinal 50,000 ducats. See Mattaire Annal. Typograph. tom. ii. p. 2–8. 125–133.; and Wetstein, Prolegomena, p. 116–127.

(119) The three witnesses have been established in our Greek Testaments by the prudence of Erasinus; the honest bigotry of the Complutensian editors; the typographical fraud, or error, of Robert Stephens in the placing a crotchet; and the deliberate falsehood, or strange misapprehension, of Theodore Beza.

(120) Plin. Hift. Natural. v. 1. Itinerar. Wesseling, p. 15. Cellarius, Geograph. Antiq. tom. ii. part ii. 127. This Tipasa (which must not be confounded with another in Numidia) was a town of some note, since Vespasian endowed it with the right of Latium.

(121) Optatus Milevitanus de Schisin. Donatist. 1. ii. p. 38.

ships passed over to the coast of Spain; and the unhappy remnant, refusing all communion with the usurper, still presumed to hold their pious, but illegal, affemblies. Their disobedience exasperated the cruelty of Hunneric. A military count was dispatched from Carthage to Tipasa: he collected the Catholics in the Forum, and, in the presence of the whole province, deprived the guilty of their right-hands and their tongues. But the holy confessors continued to speak without tongues; and this miracle is attefted by Victor, an African bishop, who published an history of the persecution within two years after the event (122). "If any one," fays Victor, " should doubt of the truth, let him repair to Constantinople, and liften to the clear and perfect language of Restitutus, the sub-deacon, one of these glorious fufferers, who is now lodged in the palace of the emperor Zeno, and is respected by the devout empress." At Constantinople we are assonished to find a cool, a learned, an unexceptionable witness, without interest, and without passion. Æneas of Gaza, a Platonic philosopher, has accurately described his own observations on these African " I saw them myself: I heard them fufferers. fpeak: I diligently enquired by what means such an articulate voice could be formed without any organ of speech: I used my eyes to examine the report of my ears: I opened their mouth, and faw that the whole tongue had been completely torn away by the roots; an operation which the physicians generally suppose to be mortal (123)." The

⁽¹²²⁾ Victor. Vitensis, v. 6. p. 76. Ruinart, p. 483—487.
(123) Æneas Gazæus in Theophrasto, in Biblioth. Patrum, tom. viii. p. 664, 665. He was a Christian, and composed this Dialogue (the Theophrastus) on the immortality of the soul, and the

The testimony of Æneas of Gaza might be confirmed by the superfluous evidence of the emperor Justinian, in a perpetual edict; of count Marcellinus, in his Chronicle of the times; and of pope Gregory the First, who had resided at Constantinople, as the minister of the Roman pontiff (124). They all lived within the compais of a century; and they all appeal to their personal knowledge, or the public notoriety, for the truth of a miracle, which was repeated in feveral instances, displayed on the greatest theatre of the world, and fubmitted, during a feries of years, to the calm examination of the fenses. pernatural gift of the African confessors, who spoke without tongues, will command the affent of those, and of those only, who already believe, that their language was pure and orthodox. But the stubborn mind of an infidel is guarded by fecret, incurable, suspicion; and the Arian, or Socinian, who has ferioufly rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, will not be shaken by the most plaufible evidence of an Athanasian miracle.

The Vandals and the Oftrogoths persevered in Theruin of the profession of Arianism till the final ruin of the Arianism kingdoms which they had founded in Africa and Barbarians, Italy. The Barbarians of Gaul submitted to the A. D. 500 orthodox dominion of the Franks; and Spain 700. was restored to the Catholic church by the vo-

luntary conversion of the Visigoths.

This

the resurrection of the body; besides twenty-five Epistles, still extant. See Cave (Hist. Litteraria, p. 297.) and Fabricius (Bibl. Græc. tom. i. p. 422.).

(124) Justinian. Codex, I. i. tit. xxvii. Marcellin in Chron. p. 45. in Thesaur. Temporum Scaliger. Procopius, de Bell. Vandal. l. i. c. 7. p. 196. Gregor. Magnus Dialog. iii. 32. None of these witnesses have specified the number of the confessors, which is fixed at fixty in an old menology (apud Ruinart, p. 486.). Two of them lost their speech by fornication; but the

Revolt and martyrdom of Herme negild in Spain A.D. 577-584.

This falutary revolution (125) was haftened by the example of a royal martyr, whom our calmer reason may style an ungrateful rebel, Leovigild, the Gothic monarch of Spain, deferved the respect of his enemies, and the love of his subjects: the Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and his Arian fynods attempted, without much fuccess, to reconcile their scruples by abolishing the unpopular rite of a fecond baptism. His eldest fon Hermenegild, who was invested by his father with the royal diadem, and the fair principality of Bœtica, contracted an honourable and orthodox alliance with a Merovingian princess, the daughter of Sigebert king of Austrasia, and of the famous Brunechild. The beauteous Ingundis, who was no more than thirteen years of age, was received, beloved, and perfecuted, in the Arian court of Toledo; and her religious constancy was alternately affaulted with blandishments and violence by Goisvintha, the Gothic queen. who abused the double claim of maternal authority (126). Incensed by her resistance, Goisvintha feized the Catholic princess by her long hair, inhumanly dashed her against the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and at last gave orders that the should be stripped, and

miracle is enhanced by the fingular inftance of a boy who had ne-

ver fpoke before his tongue was cut out.

(125) See the two general historians of Spain, Mariana (Historians of Spain, Mariana (Historians Hispaniae, tom. i. l. v. c. 12—15. p. 182—194.) and Ferreras (French translation, tom. ii. p. 206—247.). Mariana almost forgets that he is a Jesuit, to assume the tyle and spirit of a Roman classic. Ferreras, an industrious compiler, reviews his sacts, and rectifies his chronology.

(126) Goisvintha successively married two kings of the Visigoths: Athanigild, to whom she bore Brunechild, the mother of Ingundis; and Leovigild, whose two sons, Hermenegild and

Recared, were the iffue of a former marriage,

thrown into a bason, or fish-pond (127). Love and honour might excite Hermenegild to refent this injurious treatment of his bride; and he was gradually perfuaded, that Ingundis fuffered for the cause of divine truth. Her tender complaints, and the weighty arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, accomplished his conversion; and the heir of the Gothic monarchy was initiated in the Nicene faith by the folema rites of confirmation (128). The rash youth, inflamed by zeal, and perhaps by ambition, was tempted to violate the duties of a fon, and a subject; and the Catholics of Spain, although they could not complain of perfecution, applauded his pious rebellion against an heretical father. The civil war was protracted by the long and obstinate fieges of Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had ftrenuoufly espoused the party of Hermenegild. He invited the orthodox Barbarians, the Suevi, and the Franks, to the destruction of his native land: he folicited the dangerous aid of the Romans, who possessed Africa, and a part of the Spanish coaft; and his holy ambaffador, the archbifhop Leander, effectually negociated in person with the Byzantine court. But the hopes of the Catholics were crushed by the active diligence of a monarch who commanded the troops and treafures of Spain; and the guilty Hermenegild, after

(127) Iracundiæ furore succensa, adprehensam per comam capitis puellam in torram considit, et diu calcibus verberatam, ac sanguine cruentatam, justit extpoliari, et piscinæ immergi. Greg. Turon. l. v. c. 39. in tom. ii. p. 255. Gregory is one of our best originals for this portion of history.

(128) The Catholics who admitted the baptism of heretics, repeated the rite, or, as it was afterwards styled, the facrament of confirmation, to which they ascribed many mystic and marvellous prerogatives, both visible and invisible. See Chardon, Hist. des Sacremens, tom. i. p. 405-552.

ter his vain attempts to relift or to escape, was compelled to furrender himself into the hands of an incensed father. Leovigild was still mindful of that facred character; and the rebel, despoiled of the regal ornaments, was still permitted, in a decent exile, to profess the Catholic religion. His repeated and unfuccessful treasons at length provoked the indignation of the Gothic king; and the fentence of death, which he pronounced with apparent reluctance, was privately executed in the tower of Seville. The inflexible constancy with which he refused to accept the Arian communion, as the price of his fafety, may excuse the honours that have been paid to the memory of St. Hermenegild. His wife and infant fon were detained by the Romans in ignominious captivity: and this domestic misfortune tarnished the glories of Leovigild, and embittered the last moments of his life.

Conversion Spain, -589.

His fon and fucceffor, Recared, the first Caof Recared tholic king of Spain, had imbibed the faith of figoths of his unfortunate brother, which he supported with more prudence and fuccess. Instead of revolt-A.D. 586 ing against his father, Recared patiently expected the hour of his death. Instead of condemning his memory, he piously supposed, that the dying monarch had abjured the errors of Arianism, and recommended to his fon the conversion of the Gothic nation. To accomplish that falutary end, Recared convened an affembly of the Arian clergy and nobles, declared himself a Catholic, and exhorted them to imitate the example of their prince. The laborious interpretation of doubtful texts, or the curious purfuit of metaphysical arguments, would have excited an endless controversy; and the monarch discreetly proposed to his illiterate audience, two substantial

and

and visible arguments, the testimony of Earth, and of Heaven. The Earth had submitted to the Nicene fynod: the Romans, the Barbarians, and the inhabitants of Spain, unanimously professed the same orthodox creed; and the Visigoths refifted, almost alone, the consent of the Christian world. A superstitious age was prepared to reverence, as the testimony of Heaven, the preternatural cures, which were performed by the skill or virtue of the Catholic clergy: the baptismal fonts of Offet in Bætica (129), which were spontaneously replenished each year, on the vigil of Easter (130); and the miraculous shrine of St. Martin of Tours, which had already converted the Suevic prince and people of Gallicia (131). The Catholic king encountered some difficulties on this important change of the national religion. A conspiracy, secretly somented by the queen-dowager, was formed against his life; and two counts excited a dangerous revolt in the But Recared disarmed the Narbonnese Gaul. conspirators, defeated the Rebels, and executed fevere justice; which the Arians, in their turn, might brand with the reproach of perfecution. Eight bishops, whose names betray their Barbaric origin, abjured their errors; and all the books of

(129) Offet, or Julia Constantia, was opposite to Seville, on the northern side of the Bætis (Pin. H st. Natur. iii. 3.): and the authentic reference of Gregory of Tours (Hist. Francor. I. vi. c. 43. p. 288.) deserves more credit than the name of Lustania (de Gloria Martyr. c. 24.), which has been eagerly embraced by the vain and superstitious Portuguese (Ferreras, Hist. d'Espigne, tom. ii. p. 166.).

(130) This miracle was skilfully performed. An Arian king sealed the doors, and dug a deep trench round the church, without being able to intercept the Easter supply at baptismal water.

(131) Ferreras (tom. ii. p. 168—175, A. D. 550) has illustrated the difficulties which regard the time and circumstances of the conversion of the Suevi. They had been recently united by Leovigild to the Gothic monarchy of Spain.

Arian theology were reduced to ashes, with the house in which they had been purposely collected. The whole body of the Visigoths and Suevi were allured or driven into the pale of the Catholic communion; the faith, at least of the rifing generation, was fervent and fincere; and the devout liberality of the Barbarians enriched the churches and monasteries of Spain. Seventy bishops, assembled in the council of Toledo, received the submission of their conquerors; and the zeal of the Spaniards improved the Nicene creed, by declaring the procession of the Holy Ghost, from the Son, as well as from the Father; a weighty point of doctrine, which produced, long afterwards, the schism of the Greek and Latin churches (132). The royal profelyte immediately faluted and confulted pope Gregory, furnamed the Great, a learned and holy prelate, whose reign was diffinguished by the conversion of heretics and infidels. The ambassadors of Recared respectfully offered on the threshold of the Vatican his rich prefents of gold and gems: they accepted, as a lucrative exchange, the hairs of St. John the Baptist; a cross, which inclosed a small piece of the true wood; and a key, that contained some particles of iron which had been scraped from the chains of St. Peter (133).

Conversion The same Gregory, the spiritual conqueror of of the Britain, encouraged the pious Theodelinda, queen Lombards of the Lombards, to propagate the Nicene faith A. D. 600, among the victorious savages, whose recent Christianity was polluted by the Arian heresy. Her

devout

us, tom. vi. p. 527. de tribus Symbolis).
(133) See Gregor. Magn. l. vii. epist. 126. apud Baronium,
Annal. Eccles. A. D. 599, No. 25, 26.

⁽¹³²⁾ This addition to the Nicene, or rather the Constantinopolitan creed, was first made in the eighth council of Toledo, A. D. 653; but it was expressive of the popular doctrine (Gerard Vossius, tom. vi. p. 527. de tribus Symbolis).

devout labours still left room for the industry and success of suture missionaries; and many cities of Italy were still disputed by hostile bishops. But the cause of Arianism was gradually suppressed by the weight of truth, of interest, and of example; and the controversy, which Egypt had derived from the Platonic school, was terminated, after a war of three hundred years, by the sinal conversion of the Lombards of Italy (134).

The first missionaries who preached the gospel Persecutito the Barbarians, appealed to the evidence of on of the reason, and claimed the benefit of toleration Spain, (135). But no sooner had they established their A. D. 612 spiritual dominion, than they exhorted the Chris-712. tian kings to extirpate, without mercy, the remains of Roman or Barbaric Superstition. fuccessors of Clovis inflicted one hundred lashes on the peasants who refused to destroy their idols; the crime of facrificing to the dæmons was punished by the Anglo-saxon laws with the heavier penalties of imprisonment and confiscation; and even the wife Alfred adopted, as an indifpensable duty, the extreme rigour of the Mosaic institutions (136). But the punishment, and the crime, were gradually abolished among a Christian people: the theological disputes of the schools were fulpended

⁽¹³⁴⁾ Paul Warnefrid (de Gestis Langobard, I. iv. c. 44, p. 853. edit. Grot.) allows that Arianism still prevailed under the reign of Rotharis (A. D. 636—652.). The pious Deacon does not attempt to mark the precise area of the national conversion, which was accomplished, however, before the end of the seventh century.

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Quorum fidei et conversioni ita congratulatus esse rex perhibetur, ut nullum tamen cogeret ad Christianisinum... Didicerat enim a doctoribus auctoribus que se falutis, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactitium esse debere. Bedæ Hist. Ecclesiastic. l. i. c. 26. p. 62. edit. Smith.

⁽¹³⁶⁾ See the Historians of France, tom. iv. p. 114.; and Wilkins, Leges Anglo-Saxonice, p. 11. 31. Siquis facrificium immolaverit præter Deo soli morte moriatur.

fuspended by propitious ignorance; and the intolerant spirit, which could find neither idolaters nor heretics, was reduced to the perfecution of That exiled nation had founded fome fynagogues in the cities of Gaul; but Spain, fince the time of Hadrian, was filled with their numerous colonies (137). The wealth which they accumulated by trade, and the management of the finances, invited the pious avarice of their masters; and they might be oppressed without danger, as they had loft the use, and even the remembrance, of arms. Sisebut, a Gothic king, who reigned in the beginning of the feventh century, proceeded at once to the last extremes of perfecution (138). Ninety thousand Jews were compelled to receive the facrament of baptism: the fortunes of the obstinate infidels were confiscated, their bodies were tortured; and it feems doubtful whether they were permitted to abandon their native country. The excessive zeal of the Catholic king was moderated, even by the clergy of Spain, who folemnly pronounced an inconfistent sentence: that the sacraments should not be forcibly imposed; but that the Jews who had been baptized should be constrained, for the honour of the church, to persevere in the external practice of a religion which

(137) The Jews pretend that they were introduced into Spain by the fleets of Solomon, and the arms of Nebuchadnezzar; that Hadrian transported forty thousand families of the tribe of Judah, and ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, &c. Basnage, Hist. des Juiss, tom. vii. c. 9. p. 240—256.

(138) Isidore, at that time archbishop of Seville, mentions, disapproves, and congratulates, the zeal of Sisebut (Chron. Goth. p. 728.). Baronius (A. D. 614, No. 41.) assigns the number on the evidence of Aimoin (l. iv. c. 22.): but the evidence is weak, and I have not been able to verify the quotation (Historians of France, tom. iii. p. 127.).

which they disbelieved, and detested. Their frequent relapses provoked one of the successors of Sifebut to banish the whole nation from his dominions; and a council of Toledo published a decree, that every Gothic king should swear to maintain this falutary edict. But the tyrants were unwilling to difmiss the victims, whom they delighted to torture, or to deprive themselves of the industrious flaves, over whom they might exercise a lucrative oppression. The Jews still continued in Spain, under the weight of the civil and ecclefiaftical laws, which in the fame country have been faithfully transcribed in the Code of the Inquisition. The Gothic kings and bishops at length discovered, that injuries will produce hatred, and that hatred will find the opportunity of revenge. A nation, the fecret or professed enemies of Christianity, still multiplied in fervitude, and diffress; and the intrigues of the Jews promoted the rapid fuccess of the Arabian conquerors (139).

As foon as the Barbarians withdrew their pow-concluserful support, the unpopular herefy of Arius sunk on into contempt and oblivion. But the Greeks still retained their subtle and loquacious disposition: the establishment of an obscure doctrine suggested new questions, and new disputes; and it was always in the power of an ambitious prelate, or a fanatic monk, to violate the peace of the church, and, perhaps, of the empire. The historian of the empire may overlook those disputes which were confined to the obscurity of schools and sy-

nods.

⁽¹³⁹⁾ Basnage (tom. viii, c. 13. p. 388-400.) faithfully represents the state of the Jews: but he might have added from the canons of the Spanish councils, and the laws of the Visigoths, many curious circumstances, essential to his subject, though they are foreign to mine.

nods. The Manichæans, who laboured to reconcile the religions of Christ and of Zoroaster. had fecretly introduced themselves into the provinces: but these foreign sectaries were involved in the common difgrace of the Gnostics, and the Imperial laws were executed by the public hatred, The rational opinions of the Pelagians were propagated from Britain to Rome, Africa, and Palestine, and filently expired in a superstitious But the East was distracted by the Nestorian and Eutychian controversies; which attempted to explain the mystery of the incarnation, and haftened the ruin of Christianity in her native These controversies were first agitated under the reign of the younger Theodofius: but their important consequences extend far beyond the limits of the present volume. The metaphysical chain of argument, the contests of ecclefiaftical ambition, and their political influence on the decline of the Byzantine empire, may afford an interesting and instructive series of history, from the general councils of Ephelus and Chalcedon, to the conquest of the East by the fucceffors of Mahomet.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Reign and Conversion of Clovis.—His Victories over the Alemanni, Burgundians, and Visigoths. -Establishment of the French Monarchy in Gaul .- Laws of the Barbarians .- State of the Romans.—The Visigoths of Spain.—Conquest of Britain by the Saxons.

HE Gauls (1), who impatiently supported The revothe Roman yoke, received a memorable lution of lesson from one of the lieutenants of Vespasian, whose weighty sense has been refined and expresfed by the genius of Tacitus (2). "The pro-" tection of the republic has delivered Gaul " from internal discord, and foreign invasions. " By the loss of national independence, you have " acquired the name and privileges of Roman " citizens. You enjoy, in common with our-" felves, the permanent benefits of civil govern-" ment; and your remote fituation is less expo-" fed to the accidental mischiefs of tyranny. " Instead of exercising the rights of conquest, " we have been contented to impose such tributes " as are requifite for your own preservation. " Peace cannot be secured without armies; and " armies Vol. VI.-F

(1) In this chapter I shall draw my quotations from the Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, Paris 1738—1767, in eleven volumes in folio. By the labour of Dom Bouquet, and the other Benedictines, all the other original testimonies, as far as A. D. 1060, are disposed in chronological order, and illustrated with learned notes. Such a national work, which will be continued to the year 1500, might provoke our emulation.

(2) Tacit. Hist. iv. 73, 74. in tom. i. p. 445. To abridge Tacitus, would indeed be presumptuous: but I may select the general ideas which he applies to the present state and suture revolutions of Gaul.

armies must be supported at the expense of the people. It is for your fake, not for our own, that we guard the barrier of the Rhine against " the ferocious Germans, who have fo often at-" tempted, and who will always defire, to ex-" change the folitude of their woods and moraf-" fes for the wealth and fertility of Gaul. The " fall of Rome would be fatal to the provinces; " and you would be buried in the ruins of that " mighty fabric, which has been raifed by the " valour and wisdom of eight hundred years, "Your imaginary freedom would be infulted and " oppressed by a savage master; and the expul-" fion of the Romans would be fucceeded by the " eternal hostilities of the Barbarian conquerors (3)." This falutary advice was accepted, and this strange prediction was accomplished. In the space of four hundred years, the hardy Gauls, who had encountered the arms of Cæfar, were imperceptibly melted into the general mass of citizens and subjects: the Western empire was disfolved; and the Germans, who had paffed the Rhine, fiercely contended for the poffession of Gaul, and excited the contempt, or abhorrence, of its peaceful and polifhed inhabitants. With that conscious pride which the pre-eminence of knowledge and luxury feldom fails to inspire, they derided the hairy and gigantic favages of the North; their ruftic manners, diffonant joy, voracious appetite, and their horrid appearance, equally difgusting to the fight and to the smell. The liberal studies were still cultivated in the fchools

⁽³⁾ Eadem semper causa Germanis transcendendi in Gallias libido atque avaritiæ et mutandæ sedis amor; ut relictis paludibus et solitudinibus suis, secundissimum hoc solum vosque psos possiderent Nam pulsis Romanis quid aliud quam bella omniem inter se gentium exsistent ?

schools of Autun and Bourdeaux; and the language of Cicero and Virgil was familiar to the Gallic youth. Their ears were astonished by the harsh and unknown sounds of the Germanic dialect, and they ingeniously lamented that the trembling muses sled from the harmony of a Burgundian lyre. The Gauls were endowed with all the advantages of art and nature; but as they wanted courage to defend them, they were justly condemned to obey, and even to flatter, the victorious Barbarians, by whose clemency they held their precarious fortunes and their lives (4).

As foon as Odoacer had extinguished the Wef-Euric, tern empire, he fought the friendship of the most king of powerful of the Barbarians. The new sovereign goths, of Italy refigned to Euric, king of the Vifigoths, A. D. 476 all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, as -485. far as the Rhine and the Ocean (5: and the fenate might confirm this liberal gift with some oftentation of power, and without any real loss of revenue or dominion. The lawful pretentions of Euric were justified by ambition and success; and the Gothic nation might aspire, under his command, to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul, Arles and Marfeilles furrendered to his arms: he oppressed the freedom of Auvergne; and the bishop condescended to purchase his recal from exile by a tribute of just, but reluctant, praise. Sidonius waited before the gates of the palace among a crowd of ambaffadors and suppliants: and their various bufiness at the court of Bour-T 2 deaux

(4) Sidonius Apollinaris ridicules, with affected wit and pleafantry, the hardships of his fituation (Carm. xii. in tom. i. p. 811.).

⁽⁵⁾ See Procopius de Bell. Gothico. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31. The character of Grotius inclines me to believe, that he has not substituted the Rhine for the Rhône (Hist. Gothorum, p. 175.) without the authority of some MS.

deaux attested the power, and the renown, of the king of the Vifigoths. The Heruli of the diftant ocean, who painted their naked bodies, with its cærulean colour, implored his protection; and the Saxons respected the maritime provinces of a prince, who was destitute of any naval force. The tall Burgundians submitted to his authority; nor did he restore the captive Franks, till he had imposed on that fierce nation the terms of an un-The Vandals of Africa cultivated equal peace. his useful friendship; and the Ostrogoths of Pannonia were supported by his powerful aid against the oppression of the neighbouring Huns. North (such are the lofty strains of the poet) was agitated, or appealed, by the nod of Euric; the great king of Persia consulted the oracle of the West; and the aged god of the Tyber was protected by the swelling genius of the Garonne (6). The fortune of nations has often depended on accidents; and France may ascribe her greatness to the premature death of the Gothic king, at a time when his fon Alaric was an helpless infant, and his adversary Clovis (7) an ambitious and valiant youth.

Clovis, While Childeric, the father of Clovis, lived an king of the Franks, exile in Germany, he was hospitably entertained A.D. 481 by the queen, as well as by the king, of the Thuringians. After his restoration, Basina escaped from her husband's bed to the arms of her lover; freely declaring, that if she had known a man wifer.

w.110.7**,**

(6) Sidonius, 1. viii. epist. 3. 9. in tom. i. p. 800. Jornandes (de Rebus Geticis, c. 47. p. 680.) justifies, in some measure, this portrait of the Gothic hero.

⁽⁷⁾ I use the familiar appellation of Clowis, from the Latin Chlodovethus, or Chlodoveus. But the Ch expresses only the German aspiration; and the true name is not different from Luduin or Lewis (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xx. p. 68.).

wifer, stronger, or more beautiful than Childeric, that man should have been the object of her preference (8). Clovis was the offspring of this voluntary union; and, when he was no more than fifteen years of age, he succeeded, by his father's death, to the command of the Salian tribe. The narrow limits of his kingdom (9) were confined to the island of the Batavians, with the ancient dioceses of Tournay and Arras (10); and at the baptism of Clovis, the number of his warriors could not exceed five thousand. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had feated themselves along the Belgic rivers, the Scheld, the Meuse, the Moselle, and the Rhine, were governed by their independent kings, of the Merovingian race; the equals, the allies, and fometimes the enemies, of the Salic prince. But the Germans, who obeyed, in peace, the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, were free to follow the standard of a popular and victorious general; and the superior merit of Clovis attracted the respect and allegiance of the national confederacy. When he first took the field, he had neither gold and filver in his coffers, nor wine and corn in his magazines (11); but he imitated the exam-

(8) Greg. Turon. 1. ii, c. 12. in tom. i. p. 168. Bafina speaks the language of Nature : the Franks, who had feen her in their youth, might converte with Gregory, in their old age; and the bishop of Tours could not wish to defame the mother of the first Christian king.

(9) The Abbé Dubos (Hist. Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gaules, tom. i. p. 630-650.) has the merit of defining the primitive kingdom of Clovis, and of af-

certaining the genuine number of his subjects.

(10) Ecclesiam incultam ac negligentia civium Paganorum prætermissam, veprium densitate oppletam, &c. Vit. S. Vedasti, in tom. iii. p. 372. This description supposes that Arras was possessed by the Pagans, many years before the baptism of Clovis.

(II) Gregory of Tours (l. v. c. I. in tom. ii. p. 232.) contrafts the poverty of Clovis with the wealth of his grandfons, Yet Remigius (in tom. iv. p. 52.) mentions his paternas epes, 23 sufficient for the redemption of captives,

ple of Cæsar, who, in the same country, had acquired wealth by the fword, and purchased foldiers with the fruits of conquest. After each fuccessful battle or expedition, the spoils were accumulated in one common mass; every warrior received his proportionable share, and the royal prerogative submitted to the equal regulations of military law. The untamed spirit of the Barbarians was taught to acknowledge the advantages of regular discipline (12). At the annual review of the month of March, their arms were diligently inspected; and when they traversed a peaceful territory, they were prohibited from touching a blade of grass. The justice of Clovis was inexorable; and his careless or disobedient foldiers were punished with instant death. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Frank: but the valour of Clovis was directed by cool and confirmmate prudence (13). In all his transactions with mankind, he calculated the weight of interest, of passion, and of opinion; and his measures were iometimes adapted to the fanguinary manners of the Germans, and sometimes moderated by the milder genius of Rome, and Christianity. He was intercepted in the career of victory, fince he died in the forty-fifth year of his age: but he had already accomplished, in a reign of thirty years, the establishment of the French monarchy in Gaul.

The

(13) The Duke of Nivernois, a noble statesman, who has managed weighty and delicate negociations, ingeniously illustrates (Mem. de l'Acad, des Inscriptions, tom, xx. p. 147—184.) the political system of Clovis.

⁽¹²⁾ See Gregory (l. ii. c. 27. 37. in tom. ii. p. 175. 181, 132.). The famous story of the vase of Soissons explains both the power and the character of Clovis. As a point of controversy, it has been strangely tortured by Boulainvilliers, Dubos, and the other political antiquarians.

The first exploit of Clovis was the defeat of His victory Syagrius, the fon of Ægidius; and the public grius, quarrel might, on this occasion, be inflamed by A. D. 486. private refentment. The glory of the father still infulted the Merovingian race; the power of the fon might excite the jealous ambition of the king of the Franks. Syagrius inherited, as a patrimonial estate, the city and diocese of Soissons; the defolate remnant of the fecond Belgic, Rheims and Troyes, Beauvais and Amiens, would naturally submit to the count or patrician (14); and after the diffolution of the Western empire, he might reign with the title, or at least with the authority, of king of the Romans (15). As a Roman, he had been educated in the liberal studies of rhetoric and jurisprudence; but he was engaged by accident and policy in the familiar use of the Germanic idiom. The independent Barbarians reforted to the tribunal of a stranger, who possessed the fingular talent of explaining, in their native tongue, the dictates of reason and equity. The diligence and affability of their judge rendered him popular, the impartial wisdom of his decrees obtained their voluntary obedience, and the reign of Syagrius over the Franks and Burgundians, feemed to revive the original inftitution of civil fociety (16). In the midst of these peace-

(14) M. Biet (in a Differtation which deferved the prize of the Academy of Soiffons, p. 178-226.) has accurately defined the nature and extent of the kingdom of Syagrius, and his father; but he too readily allows the flight evidence of Dubos (tom. ii. p. 54-57.) to deprive him of Beauvais and Amiens.

(15) I may observe that Fredegarius, in his Epitome of Gregory of Tours (tom. ii. p. 398.), has prudently substituted the name of *Patricius* for the incredible title of Rex Romanorum.

(16) Sidonius (l. v. epist. v. in tom. i. p. 794.), who stiles him the Solon, the Amphion, of the Barbarians, addresses this imaginary king in the tone of friendship and equality. From such offices of arbitration, the crafty Dejoces had raised himself to the throne of the Medes (Herodot. l. i. c. 96—190.).

ful occupations, Syagrius received, and boldly accepted, the hoftile defiance of Clovis; who challenged his rival, in the spirit, and almost in the language, of chivalry, to appoint the day and the field (17), of battle. In the time of Cæfar, Soissons would have poured forth a body of fifty thousand horse; and such army might have been plentifully supplied with shelds, cuirasses, and military engines, from the three arfenals, or manufactures, of the city (18). But the courage and numbers of the Gallic youth were long fince exhausted; and the loose bands of volunteers, or mercenaries, who marched under the standard of Syagrius, were incapable of contending with the national valour of the Franks. It would be ungenerous, without some more accurate knowledge of his strength and resources, to condemn the rapid flight of Syagrius, who escaped, after the loss of a battle, to the distant court of Thoulouse. The feeble minority of Alaric could not affift, or protect, an unfortunate fugitive; the pufillanimous (19) Goths were intimidated by the menaces of Clovis; and the Roman king, after a short confinement, was delivered into the hands of the executioner. The Belgic cities furrendered to the king of the Franks; and his dominions

(19) The epithet must be confined to the circumstances; and history cannot justify the French prejudice of Gregory (1. ii. c. 27. in tom. ii. p. 175.), ut Gothorum pavere mos est.

⁽¹⁷⁾ Campum fibi præparari justit. M. Biet (p. 226-251.) has diligently ascertained this field of battle, at Nogent, a Benedictine abbey, about ten miles to the north of Soissons. The ground was marked by a circle of Pagan sepulchres; and Clovis bestowed the adjacent lands of Leuilly and Coucy on the church of Rheims.

⁽¹⁸⁾ See Cæsar. Comment. de Bell. Gallic. ii. 4. in tom. i. p. 220. and the Notitiæ, tom. i. p. 126. The three Fabrica of Soissons were, Scutaria, Balistaria, and Clinabaria. The last supplied the complete armour of the heavy cuirassiers.

were enlarged towards the East by the ample diocese of Tongres (20), which Clovis subdued in the

tenth year of his reign.

The name of the Alemanni has been absurdly Defeat and derived from their imaginary settlement on the submission banks of the Leman lake (21). That fortunate manni, district, from the lake to Avenche, and Mount A. D. 496. Jura, was occupied by the Burgundians (22). The northern parts of Helvetia had indeed been subdued by the ferocious Alemanni, who destroyed with their own hands the fruits of their conquest. A province, improved and adorned by the arts of Rome, was again reduced to a savage wilderness; and some vestige of the stately Vindonissa may still be discovered in the fertile and populous valley of the Aar (23). From the source of the Rhine, to its conflux with the Mein

(20) Dubos has fatisfied me (tom. i. p. 277—286.) that Gregory of Tours, his transcribers or his readers, have repeatedly confounded the German kingdom of Thuringia, beyond the Rhine, and the Gallic city of Tongria, on the Meuse, which was more anciently the country of the Eburones, and more recently the diocese of Liege.

(21) Populi habitantes juxta Lemannum lacum, Alemanni dicuntur. Servius, ad Virgil. Georgic. iv. 278. Dom Bouquet (tom. i. p. 817.) has only alleged the more recent and corrupt

text of Indore of Seville.

(22) Gregory of Tours sends St. Lupicinus inter illa Jurensis deserti secreta, quæ, inter Burgundiam Alamanniamque sita, Aventicæ adjacent civitati, in tom. i. p. 648. M. de Watteville (Hist. de la Consideration Helvetique, tom. i. p. 9, 10.) has accurately designed the Helvetian limits of the dutchy of Alemannia, and the Tranjurane Burgundy. They were commensurate with the dioceses of Constance and Avenche, or Lausanne, and are still discriminated, in modern Switzerland, by the use of the German, or French, language.

(23) See Guilliman. de Rebus Helveticis, I. i. c. 3. p. 11, 12. Within the ancient walls of Vindonissa, the castle of Habsburgh, the abbey of Konigssield, and the town of Bruck, have successively arisen. The philosophic traveller may compare the monuments of Roman conquest, of feudal or Austrian tyranny, of monkish superstition, and of industrious freedom. If he be truly a philosopher, he will applaed the merit and happiness of his own

simes.

and the Mofelle, the formidable swarms of the Alemanni commanded either fide of the river, by the right of ancient possession, or recent victory. They had fpread themselves into Gaul, over the modern provinces of Alface and Lorraine: and their bold invalion of the kingdom of Cologne summoned the Salic prince to the defence of his Ripuarian allies. Clovis encountered the invaders of Gaul in the plain of Tolbiac. about twenty-four miles from Cologne; and the two fiercest nations of Germany were mutually animated by the memory of past exploits, and the prospect of future greatness. The Franks, after an obstinate struggle, gave way; and the Alemanni, raising a shout of victory, impetuously pressed their retreat. But the battle was restored by the valour, the conduct, and perhaps by the piety, of Clovis; and the event of the bloody day decided for ever the alternative of empire or The last king of the Alemanni was flain in the field, and his people was flaughtered and purfued, till they threw down their arms, and yielded to the mercy of the conqueror. Without discipline it was impossible for them to rally; they had contemptuoufly demolished the walls and fortifications which might have protected their diffres; and they were followed into the heart of their forests, by an enemy, not less active, or intrepid, than themselves. The great Theodoric congratulated the victory of Clovis, whose fifter Albofleda the king of Italy had lately married; but he mildly interceded with his brother in favour of the suppliants and fugitives. who had implored his protection. The Gallic territories, which were possessed by the Alemanni, became the prize of their conqueror; and the haughty nation, invincible, or rebellious, to the arms

arms of Rome, acknowledged the fovereignty of the Merovingian kings, who graciously permitted them to enjoy their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of official, and, at length, of hereditary, dukes. After the conquest of the Western provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine. They gradually subdued, and civilised, the exhausted countries, as far as the Elbe, and the mountains of Bohemia; and the peace of Europe was secured by the obedience of Germany (24).

Till the thirtieth year of his age, Clovis con-Conversion tinued to worship the gods of his ancestors (25). of Clovis, A. D. 496.

His disbelief, or rather disregard, of Christianity, might encourage him to pollage with less remorse the churches of an hostile territory: but his subjects of Gaul enjoyed the free exercise of religious worship; and the bishops entertained a more favourable hope of the idolater, than of the heretics. The Merovingian prince had contracted a fortunate alliance with the fair Clotilda, the niece of the king of Burgundy, who, in the midst of an Arian court, was educated in the profession of the Catholic faith. It was her interest.

(24) Gregory of Tours (l. ii. 30. 37. in tom. ii. p. 176, 177. 182.), the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 551), and the epistle of Theodoric (Cassindor. Variar. l. ii. c. 41. in tom. iv. p. 4.), represent the defeat of the Alemanni. Some of their tribes settled in Rhætia, under the protection of Theodoric; whose successors ceded the colony and their country to the grandson of Clovis. The state of the Alemanni under the Merovingian kings, may be seen in Mascou. (Hist. of the Ancient Germans, xi. 8, &c. Annotation xxxvi.), and Guilliman (de Reb. Helvet. l. ii. c. 10.—12. p. 72—80.)

(25) Cloudda, or rather Gregory, supposes that Clovis worshipped the gids of Greece and Rome. The fact is incredible,
and the mistake only shews now completely, in less than a century, the national religion of the Franks had been abolished, and

even forgotten.

terest, as well as her duty, to atchieve the conversion (26) of a Pagan husband; and Clovis infenfibly liftened to the voice of love and religion. He confented, (perhaps fuch terms had been previously stipulated) to the baptism of his eldest fon; and though the fudden death of the infant excited some superstitious fears, he was persuaded, a fecond time, to repeat the dangerous experiment. In the diffress of the battle of Tolbiac. Clovis loudly invoked the god of Clotilda and the Christians; and victory disposed him to hear, with respectful gratitude, the eloquent (27) Remigius (28), bishop of Rheims, who forcibly displayed the temporal and spiritual advantages of The king declared himself fatishis conversion. fied of the truth of the Catholic faith; and the political reasons which might have suspended his public profession, were removed by the devout or loyal acclamations of the Franks, who shewed themselves alike prepared to follow their heroic leader.

(26) Gregory of Tours relates the marriage and conversion of Clovis (l. ii. c. 28-31. in tom. ii. p. 175-178.). Even Fredegarius, or the nameless Epitomizer (in tom. ii. p. 398-400.), the author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 548-552.), and Aimoin himself (l. i. c. 13. in tom. iii. p. 37.—40.), may be heard without disdain. Tradition might long preserve some curious circumstances of these important transactions.

(27) A traveller, who returned from Rheims to Auvergne, had stolen a copy of his Declamations from the secretary or bookseller of the modest archbishop (Sidonius Apollinar. 1. ix. epist. 7.). Four epiftles of Remigius, which are still extant (in tom. iv. p. 51, 52, 53.), do not correspond with the splendid praise of Sidonius.

(28) Hincmar, one of the successors of Remigius (A. D. 845 -882.), has composed his life (in tom. iii. p. 373-380.). The authority of ancient MSS. of the church of Rheims might inspire some confidence, which is destroyed, however, by the selfish and audacious fictions of Hincmar. It is remarkable enough, that Remigius, who was confecrated at the age of twenty-two (A. D. 457.), filled the episcopal chair seventy-four years (Page Critica, in Baron. tom. ii. p. 384. 572.).

leader, to the field of battle, or to the baptismal font. The important ceremony was performed in the cathedral of Rheims, with every circumstance of magnificence and solemnity, that could impress an awful sense of religion on the minds of its rude profelytes (29). The new Constantine was immediately baptifed, with three thousand of his warlike subjects; and their example was imitated by the remainder of the gentle Barbarians, who, in obedience to the victorious prelate, adored the crofs which they had burnt, and burnt the idols which they had formerly adored (30). The mind of Clovis was susceptible of transient fervour: he was exasperated by the pathetic rale of the passion and death of Christ; and, instead of weighing the falutary confequences of that mysterious sacrifice, he exclaimed with indiscreet fury, "Had I been present at the head of my "valiant Franks, I would have revenged his in-"juries (31)." But the favage conqueror of Gaul was incapable of examining the proofs of a religion, which depends on the laborious investigation of historic evidence, and speculative theology. He was still more incapable of feeling the mild influence

⁽²⁹⁾ A vial (the Sainte Ampoulle) of holy, or rather celestial, oil, was brought down by a white dove, for the baptism of Clovis; and it is still used, and renewed, in the coronation of the kings of France. Hincmar (he afpired to the primacy of Gaul) is the first author of this fable (in tom. iii. p. 377.) whose slight foundations the Abbé de Vertot (Memoires de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. ii. p. 619-633.) has undermined, with profound respect, and consummate dexterity.

⁽³⁰⁾ Mitis depone colla, Sicamber: adora quod incendisti, incende quod adorasti. Greg. Turon. l. ii. c. 31. in tom. ii. p. 177.

(31) Si ego ibidem cum Francis meis suissem, injurias ejus vindicassem. This rash expression, which Gregory has prudently concealed, is celebrated by Fredegarius (Epitom. c. 21. in tom. ii. p. 400.), Aimoin (l. i. c. 16. in tom. iii. p. 40.), and the Chroniques de St. Denys (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 171.), as an admirable effusion of Christian zeal.

influence of the gospel, which persuades and purifies the heart of a genuine convert. His ambitious reign was a perpetual violation of moral and Christian duties; his hands were stained with blood, in peace as well as in war; and, as foon as Clovis had difmiffed a fynod of the Gallican church, he calmly affaffinated all the princes of the Merovingian race (32). Yet the king of the Franks might fincerely worship the Christian God, as a Being more excellent and powerful than his national deities; and the fignal deliverance and victory of Tolbiac encouraged Clovis to confide in the future protection of the Lord of Hofts. Martin, the most popular of the saints, had filled the Western world with the same of those miracles, which were incessantly performed at his holy sepulchre of Tours. His visible or invisible aid promoted the cause of a liberal and orthodox prince; and the profane remark of Clovis himfelf, that St. Martin was an expensive friend (33), need not be interpreted as the symptom of any permanent, or rational, fcepticism. But earth, as well as heaven, rejoiced in the conversion of the Franks. On the memorable day, when Clovis ascended from the baptismal font, he alone, in the Christian world, deserved the name and prerogatives of a Catholic king. The emperor Anastasius entertained some dangerous errors concerning

(32) Gregory (l. ii. c. 40-43. in tom. ii. p. 183-185.) after coolly relating the repeated crimes, and affected remorfe, of Clovis, concludes, perhaps undefignedly, with a leffen, which ambition

will never hear; " His ita transactis . . . obin."

⁽³³⁾ After the Gotnic victory, Clovis made rich offerings to St. Martin of Tours. He wished to redeem his war-horse by the gift of one hundred pieces of gold; but the enchanted iteed could not move from the stable till the price of his redemption had been doubled. This miracle provoked the king to exclaim, Vere B. Martinus est bonus in auxilio, sed carus in negotio (Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 554, 555.).

cerning the nature of the divine incarnation; and the Barbarians of Italy, Africa, Spain, and Gaul were involved in the Arian herefy. The eldest, or rather the only, son of the church, was acknowledged by the clergy as their lawful sovereign, or glorious deliverer; and the arms of Clovis were strenuously supported by the zeal and savour

of the Catholic faction (34).

Under the Roman empire, the wealth and Submission jurisdiction of the bishops, their facred character, moricans and perpetual office, their numerous dependents, and the Ropopular eloquence, and provincial affemblies, had man troops, A. D. 497, rendered them always respectable, and sometimes &c. dangerous. Their influence was augmented with the progress of superstition, and the establishment of the French monarchy may, in some degree, be ascribed to the firm alliance of an hundred prelates, who reigned in the discontented, or independent, cities of Gaul. The flight foundations of the Armorican republic had been repeatedly shaken, or overthrown; but the same people still guarded their domestic freedom; afferted the dignity of the Roman name; and bravely relifted the predatory inroads, and regular attacks, of Clovis, who laboured to extend his conquests from the Seine to the Loire. Their successful opposition introduced an equal and honourable union. The Franks effeemed the valour of the Armoricans (35), and the Armoricans were reconciled

⁽³⁴⁾ See the epifile from pope Anastasius to the royal convert (in tom. iv. p. 50, 51.). Avitus, bishop of Vienna, addressed Clovis on the same subject (p. 49.); and many of the Latin bishops would assure him of their joy and attachment.

⁽³⁵⁾ Instead of the Agosguxes, an unknown people, who now appear in the text of Procopius, Hadrian de Valois has restored the proper name of the Agusguxes; and this easy correction has

conciled by the religion of the Franks. The military force, which had been stationed for the defence of Gaul, confifted of one hundred different bands of cavalry or infantry; and these troops, while they affumed the title and privileges of Roman foldiers, were renewed by an incessant supply of the Barbarian youth. The extreme fortifications, and scattered fragments of the empire. were still defended by their hopeless courage. But their retreat was intercepted, and their communication was impracticable: they were abandoned by the Greek princes of Constantinople, and they piously disclaimed all connection with the Arian usurpers of Gaul. They accepted, without shame or reluctance, the generous capitulation, which was proposed by a Catholic hero: and this spurious, or legitimate, progeny of the Roman legions, was diffinguished in the succeeding age by their arms, their enfigns, and their peculiar dress and institutions. But the national strength was increased by these powerful and vo-Juntary accessions; and the neighbouring kingdoms dreaded the numbers, as well as the spirit, of the Franks. The reduction of the Northern provinces of Gaul, instead of being decided by the chance of a fingle battle, appears to have been flowly effected by the gradual operation of war and treaty; and Clovis acquired each object of his ambition, by fuch efforts, or fuch concessions, as were adequate to its real value. His favage character, and the virtues of Henry IV. fuggest the most opposite ideas of human nature: yet

been almost universally approved. Yet an unprejudiced reader would naturally suppose, that Procopius means to describe a tribe of Germans in the alliance of Rome; and not a confederacy of Gallic cities, which had revolted from the empire.

yet some resemblance may be found in the situation of two princes, who conquered France by their valour, their policy, and the merits of a

feasonable conversion (36).

The kingdom of the Burgundians, which was The Burdefined by the course of two Gallic rivers, the gundian Saone and the Rhône, extended from the forest of war, A. D. Vofges to the Alps and the fea of Marfeilles (37). The sceptre was in the hands of Gundobald. That valiant and ambitious prince had reduced the number of royal candidates by the death of two brothers, one of whom was the father of Clotilda (38); but his imperfect prudence still permitted Godegesil, the youngest of his brothers, to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The Arian monarch was justly alarmed by the fatisfaction, and the hopes, which feemed to animate his clergy and people, after the conversion of Clovis; and Gundobald convened at Lyons an affembly of his bishops, to reconcile, if it were Vol. VI.-F poslible,

(36) This important digression of Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. 1. 1. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 29-36.) illustrates the origin of the French monarchy. Yet I must observe, 1. That the Greek historian betrays an inexcusable ignorance of the geography of the West. 2. That these treaties and privileges, which should leave some lasting traces, are totally invisible in Gregory of Tours, the

Salic laws, &c.

(37) Regnum circa Rhodanum aut Ararim cum provincia Massiliensi retinebant. Greg. Turon. I. ii. c. 32. in tom. ii. p. 178. The province of Marseilles, as far as the Durance, was afterwards ceded to the Ostrogoths: and the signatures of twenty-five bishops are supposed to represent the kingdom of Burgundy, A. D. 519. (Concil. Epaon. in tom. iv. p. 104, 105.). Yet I would except Vindonissa. The bishop, who lived under the Pagan Alemanni, would naturally resort to the synods of the next Christian kingdom. Mascou (inn his four first annotations) has explained many circumstances relative to the Burgundian monarchy.

(38) Mascou (Hist, of the Germans, xi. 10.), who very reasonably distrusts the testimony of Gregory of Tours, has produced a passage from Avitus (epist. v.), to prove that Gundobald affected to deplore the tragic event, which his subjects affected to applaud.

possible, their religious, and political discontents. A vain conference was agitated between the two The Arians upbraided the Catholics with the worship of three Gods: the Catholics defended their cause by theological distinctions; and the usual arguments, objections, and replies, were reverberated with obstinate clamour; till the king revealed his fecret apprehensions, by an abrupt but decifive question, which he addressed to the orthodox bishops. "If you truly profess " the Christian religion, why do you not restrain "the king of the Franks? He has declared war " against me, and forms alliances with my enemies " for my destruction. A sanguinary and covet-" ous mind is not the symptom of a fincere con-" version: let him shew his faith by his works." The answer of Avitus, bishop of Vienna, who spoke in the name of his brethren, was delivered with the voice and countenance of an angel. "We are ignorant of the motives and intentions " of the king of the Franks: but we are taught " by scripture, that the kingdoms which aban-" don the divine law, are frequently subverted; " and that enemies will arise on every side against "those who have made God their enemy. Re-"turn, with thy people, to the law of God, and " he will give peace and fecurity to thy domini-"ons." The king of Burgundy, who was not prepared to accept the condition, which the Catholics confidered as effential to the treaty, delayed and dismissed the ecclesiastical conference; after reproaching his bishops, that Clovis, their friend and profelyte, had privately tempted the allegiance of his brother (39).

The

⁽³⁹⁾ See the original conference (in tom. iv. p. 99-102.). Avitus, the principal actor, and probably the secretary of the meeting,

The allegiance of his brother was already feduc-Victory of ed; and the obedience of Godegesil, who joined A. D. 500. the royal standard with the troops of Geneva, more effectually promoted the fuccess of the con-While the Franks and Burgundians contended with equal valour, his feafonable defertion decided the event of the battle; and as Gundobald was faintly supported by the disaffected Gauls, he yielded to the arms of Clovis, and hastily retreated from the field, which appears to have been fituate between Langres and Dijon. He distrusted the strength of Dijon, a quadrangular fortress, encompassed by two rivers, and by a wall thirty feet high, and fifteen thick, with four gates, and thirty-three towers (40): he abandoned to the pursuit of Clovis the important cities of Lyons and Vienna; and Gundobald still fled with precipitation, till he had reached Avignon, at the distance of two hundred and fifty miles from the field of battle. A long fiege, and an artful negociation, admonished the king of the Franks of the danger and difficulty of his enterprife. He imposed a tribute on the Burgundian prince, compelled him to pardon and reward his brother's treachery, and proudly returned to his own dominions, with the spoils and captives of the fouthern provinces. This splendid triumph was foon clouded by the intelligence, that Gundobald had violated his recent obligations, and U 2

ing, was bishop of Vienna. A short account of his person and works may be found in Dnpin (Bibliotheque Ecclesiastique, tom.

v. p. 5—10.).

(40) Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 19. in tom. ii. p. 197.) indulges his genius, or rather transcribes some more eloquent writer, in the description of Dijon; a castle, which already deserved the title of a city. It depended on the bishops of Langres till the twelfth century, and afterwards became the capital of the dukes of Burgundy. Longuerue Description de la France, part i. p. 280.

that the unfortunate Godegefil, who was left at Vienna with a garrison of five thousand Franks (41), had been befieged, furprised, and massacred, by his inhuman brother. Such an outrage might have exasperated the patience of the most peaceful fovereign; yet the conqueror of Gaul diffembled the injury, released the tribute, and accepted the alliance, and military fervice, of the king of Burgundy. Clovis no longer possessed those advantages which had affured the success of the preceding war; and his rival, instructed by adverfity, had found new refources in the affections of his people. The Gauls or Romans applauded the mild and impartial laws of Gundobald, which almost raised them to the same level with their conquerors. The bishops were reconciled, and flattered, by the hopes, which he artfully fuggefted, of his approaching conversion; and though he eluded their accomplishment to the last moment of his life; his moderation fecured the peace, and suspended the ruin, of the kingdom of Burgundy (42).

Final conqueft of Burgundy by the Franks.
A. D. 532.

I am impatient to pursue the final ruin of that kingdom, which was accomplished under the reign of Sigismond, the son of Gundobald. The Catholic Sigismond has acquired the honours of a faint

(41) The Epitomizer of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.) has supplied this number of Franks; but he rashly supposes that they were cut in pieces by Gundobald. The prudent Burgundian spared the soldiers of Clovis, and sent these captives to the king of the Visigoths, who settled them in the territory of Thoulouse.

of the Vifigoths, who settled them in the territory of Thoulouse.

(42) In this Burgundian war I have followed Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 32, 33. in tom. ii. p. 178, 179.), whose narrative appears so incompatible with that of Procopius (de Bell. Goth. l. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 31, 32.), that some critics have supposed two different wars. The Abbé Dubos (Hist. Critique, &c. tom. ii. p. 126—162.) has distinctly represented the causes and the grents.

faint and martyr (43); but the hands of the royal faint were flained with the blood of his innocent fon, whom he inhumanly facrificed to the pride and refentment of a stepmother. He foon difcovered his error, and bewailed the irreparable While Sigismond embraced the corpse of the unfortunate youth, he received a severe admonition from one of his attendants: " It is not " his fituation, O king! it is thine which de-" ferves pity and lamentation" The reproaches of a guilty conscience were alleviated, however, by his liberal donations to the monastery of Agaunum, or St. Maurice, in Vallais; which he himfelf had founded in honour of the imaginary martyrs of the Thebæan legion (44). chorus of perpetual psalmody was instituted by the pious king; he affiduously practifed the auftere devotion of the monks; and it was his humble prayer, that heaven would inflict in this world the punishment of his fins. His prayer was heard: the avengers were at hand; and the provinces of Burgundy were overwhelmed by an army of victorious Franks. After the event of an unsuccessful battle, Sigismond, who wished to protract his life that he might prolong his pennance, concealed himself in the defert in a religi-

ous

⁽⁴³⁾ See his life, or legend (in tom. iii. p. 402.). A martyr! how strangely has that word been distorted from its original sense of a common witness. St. Sigismond was remarkable for the cure of fevers.

⁽⁴⁴⁾ Before the end of the fifth century, the church of St. Maurice, and his Thebæan legion, had rendered Agaunum a place of devout pilgrimage. A promiscuous community of both sexes had introduced some deeds of darkness, which were abolished (A. D. 515.) by the regular monastery of Sigitimond. Within fitty years, his angels of light made a nocturnal fally to murder their bishop, and his clergy. See in the Bisiotheque Raisonnée (tom. xxxvi. p. 435—438.) the curious remarks of a learned inbrarian of Geneva.

ous habit, till he was discovered and betrayed by his subjects, who solicited the favour of their new mafters. The captive monarch, with his wife and two children, was transported to Orleans, and buried alive in a deep well, by the stern command of the fons of Clovis; whose cruelty might derive some excuse from the maxims and examples of their barbarous age. Their ambition, which urged them to atchieve the conquest of Burgundy, was inflamed, or disguised, by filial piety: and Clotilda, whose fanctity did not confift in the forgiveness of injuries, pressed them to revenge her father's death on the family of his affaffin. The rebellious Burgundians, for they attempted to break their chains, were still permitted to enjoy their national laws under the obligation of tribute and military fervice; and the Merovingian princes peaceably reigned over the kingdom, whose glory and greatness had been first overthrown by the arms of Clovis (45).

The Gothic The first victory of Clovis had insulted the howar, nour of the Goths. They viewed his rapid progress with jealousy and terror; and the youthful same of Alaric was oppressed by the more potent genius of his rival. Some disputes inevitably arose on the edge of their contiguous dominions; and after the delays of fruitless negociation, a personant

after the delays of fruitless negociation, a personal interview of the two kings was proposed and accepted. This conference of Clovis and Alaric

was held in a small island of the Loire, near Amboise. They embraced, familiarly conversed, and

feasted

⁽⁴⁵⁾ Marius, bishop of Avenche (Chron. in tom. ii. p. 15.) has marked the authentic dates, and Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 5, 6. in tom. ii. p. 188, 189.) has expressed the principal facts, of the life of Sigismond, and the conquest of Burgundy. Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 34.) and Agathias (in tom. ii. p. 49.) shew their remote and imperfect knowledge.

feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace, and brotherly love. their apparent confidence concealed a dark suspicion of hostile and treacherous designs; and their mutual complaints folicited, eluded, and disclaimed, a final arbitration. At Paris, which he already confidered as his royal fear, Clovis declared to an affembly of the princes and varriors, the pretence, and the motive, of a Gothic war. " grieves me to fee that the Arians still possess " the fairest portion of Gaul. Let us march " against them with the aid of God; and, hav-" ing vanquished the heretics, we will possess, " and divide, their fertile provinces (46)." The Franks, who were inspired by hereditary valour and recent zeal, applauded the generous defign of their monarch; expressed their resolution to conquer or die, fince death and conquest would be equally profitable; and folemnly protested that they would never shave their beards, till victory should absolve them from that inconvenient vow. The enterprise was promoted by the public, or private, exhortations of Clotilda. She reminded her husband, how effectually some pious foundation would propitiate the Deity, and his fervants: and the Christian hero, darting his battle-ax with a skilful and nervous hand, "There (said he), on " that spot where my Francisca (47) shall fall,

⁽⁴⁶⁾ Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 181.) inferts the short but persuasive speech of Clovis. Valde moleste sero, quod hi Ariani partem teneant Galliarum (the author of the Gesta Francorum, in tom. ii. p. 553. adds the precious epithet of optimam), eamus cum Dei adjutorio, et, superatis eis, redigamus terram in ditionem nostram.

⁽⁴⁷⁾ Tunc rex projecit a se in directum Bipennem suam quod est Francisca, &c. (Gesta Franc. in tom. ii. p. 554.). The form, and use, of this weapon, are clearly described by Procopius (in tom. ii. p. 37.). Examples of its national appellation in Latin

" will I erect a church in honour of the holy " apostles." This oftentatious piety confirmed and justified the attachment of the Catholics, with whom he fecretly corresponded; and their devout wishes were gradually ripened into a formidable conspiracy. The people of Aquitain was alarmed by the indifcreet reproaches of their Gothic tyrants, who justly accused them of preferring the dominion of the Franks; and their zealous adherent Quintianus, bishop of Rodez (48), preached more forcibly in his exile than in his diocese. To result these foreign and domestic enemies, who were fortified by the alliance of the Burgundians, Alaric collected his troops, far more numerous than the military powers of Clovis. The Vifigoths refumed the exercise of arms. which they had neglected in a long and luxurious peace (49): a felect band of valiant and robuft flaves attended their mafters to the field (50); and the cities of Gaul were compelled to furnish their doubtful and reluctant aid. ric, king of the Oftrogoths, who reigned in Italy, had laboured to maintain the tranquillity of Gaul;

and French, may be found in the Glossary of Ducange, and the

large Dictionnaire de Trevoux.

(48) It is fingular enough, that some important and authentic facts should be found in a life of Quintianus, composed in rhyme in the old Patois of Rouergue (Dubos Hift. Critique, &c. tom. ii.

p. 179.).

(49) Quamvis fortitudini vestræ confidentiam tribuat parentum vettrorum innumerabilis multitudo; quamvis Attilam potentem reminiscam ni Visigotharum viribus inclinatum; tamen quia populorum ferocia corda longa pace mollescunt, cavete subito in aleam mittere, quos constat tantis temporibus exercitia non habere. Such was the fatutary, but fruitlets, advice of peace, of reason, and of Theodoric (Caffiodor. I. iii. ep. 2.).

(50) Montesquien (Esprit des Loix, I. xv. c. 14.) mentions and approves the law of the Vifigoths (I. ix. tit. 2. in tom. iv. p. 425.), which obliged all masters to arm, and fend, or lead, into

the field, a tenth of their flaves.

and he assumed, or affected for that purpose, the impartial character of a mediator. But the sagacious monarch dreaded the rising empire of Clovis, and he was firmly engaged to support the national

and religious cause of the Goths.

The accidental, or artificial, prodigies which victory of adorned the expedition of Clovis, were accepted Clovis, by a superstitious age, as the manifest declaration A. D. 507. of Divine favour. He marched from Paris; and as he proceeded with decent reverence through the holy diocese of Tours, his anxiety tempted him to consult the shrine of St. Martin, the sanctuary, and the oracle of Gaul. His messengers were instructed to remark the words of the Pfalm. which should happen to be chaunted at the precife moment when they entered the church. Those words most fortunately expressed the valour and victory of the champions of Heaven, and the application was eafily transferred to the new Johna, the new Gideon, who went forth to battle against the enemies of the Lord (51). Orleans fecured to the Franks a bridge on the Loire; but, at the distance of forty miles from Poitiers, their progress was intercepted by an extraordinary swell of the river Vigenna, or Vienne; and the oppofite banks were covered by the encampment of the Vifigoths. Delay must be always dangerous to Barbarians, who confume the country through which they march; and had Clovis possessed lei-

⁽⁵¹⁾ This mode of divination, by accepting as an omen the first facred words, which in particular circumstances should be presented to the eye or car, was derived from the Pagans; and the Psalter or Bible, was substituted to the poems of Homer and Virgil. From the fourth to the fourteenth century, these fortes fanctorum, as they are stilled, were repeatedly condemned by the decrees of councils, and repeatedly practifed by kings, bishops, and saints. See a curious differentiation of the Abbé du Resnel, in the Memoires de l'Academie, tom. xix. p. 287—310.

fure and materials, it might have been impracticable to conftruct a bridge, or to force a paffage, in the face of a superior enemy. But the affectionate peafants, who were impatient to welcome their deliverer, could eafily betray some unknown, or unguarded, ford: the merit of the discovery was enhanced by the useful interpolition of fraud or fiction; and a white hart, of fingular fize and beauty, appeared to guide and animate the march of the Catholic army. The counfels of the Visigoths were irresolute and distracted. A crowd of impatient warriors, presumptuous in their strength, and disdaining to fly before the robbers of Germany, excited Alaric to affert in arms the name and blood of the conqueror of Rome. The advice of the graver chieftains pressed him to elude the first ardour of the Franks; and to expect, in the fouthern provinces of Gaul, the veteran and victorious Oftrogoths, whom the king of Italy had already fent to his affiftance. decifive moments were wafted in idle deliberation; the Goths too haftily abandoned, perhaps, an advantageous post; and the opportunity of a secure retreat was loft by their flow and disorderly motions. After Cloyis had passed the ford, as it is still named, of the Hart, he advanced with bold and hafty steps to prevent the escape of the enemy. His nocturnal march was directed by a flaming meteor, suspended in the air above the cathedral of Poitiers; and this fignal, which might be previously concerted with the orthodox succesfor of St. Hilary, was compared to the column of fire that guided the Israelites in the defert. At the third hour of the day, about ten miles beyond Poitiers, Clovis overtook, and instantly attacked, the Gothic army; whose defeat was already prepared by terror and confusion. Yet they they rallied in their extreme diffress, and the martial youths, who had clamorously demanded the battle, refused to survive the ignominy of flight. The two kings encountered each other in fingle combat. Alaric fell by the hand of his rival; and the victorious Frank was faved by the goodness of his cuirass, and the vigour of his horse, from the spears of two desperate Goths, who furiously rode against him, to revenge the death of their fovereign. The vague expression of a mountain of the flain, ferves to indicate a cruel, though indefinite, flaughter; but Gregory has carefully observed, that his valiant countryman Apollinaris, the fon of Sidonius, loft his life at the head of the nobles of Auvergne. Perhaps these suspected Catholics had been maliciously exposed to the blind affault of the enemy; and perhaps the influence of religion was superfeded by personal attachment, or military honour (52).

Such is the empire of Fortune (if we may still Conquest disguise our ignorance under that popular name), of Aquitain by the that it is almost equally difficult to foresee the Franks, events of war, or to explain their various conse-A.D. 508. quences. A bloody and complete victory has sometimes yielded no more than the possession of the field; and the loss of ten thousand men has sometimes been sufficient to destroy, in a single day, the work of ages. The decisive battle of Poitiers was sollowed by the conquest of Aquitain.

(52) After correcting the text, or excusing the mistake, of Procopius, who places the the defeat of Alaric near Carcassone, we may conclude from the evidence of Gregory, Fortunatus, and the author of the Gesta Francorum, that the battle was fought in campo Vocladensi, on the banks of the Clain, about ten miles to the south of Poitiers. Clovis overtook and attacked the Visigoths near Vivonne, and the victory was decided near a village still named Campagné St. Hilaire. See the Dissertations of the Abbé le Bœus, tom. i. p. 304—331.

Alaric had left behind him an infant fona baftard competitor, factious nobles, and a difloyal people; and the remaining forces of the Goths were oppressed by the general consternation, or opposed to each other in civil discord. The victorious king of the Franks proceeded without delay to the fiege of Angoulême. the found of his trumpets the walls of the city imitated the example of Jericho, and instantly fell to the ground; a splendid miracle, which may be reduced to the supposition, that some clerical engineers had fecretly undermined the foundations of the rampart (53). At Bourdeaux, which had submitted without refistance, Clovis established his winter-quarters; and his prudent economy transported from Thoulouse the royal treasures, which were deposited in the capital of the monarchy. The conqueror penetrated as far as the confines of Spain (54); restored the honours of the Catholic church; fixed in Aquitain a colony of Franks (55); and delegated to his lieutenants the eafy talk of subduing, or extirpating.

(53) Angoulême is in the road from Poitiers to Bourdeaux; and although Gregory delays the fiege, I can more readily believe that he confounded the order of hittory, than that Clovis neglected the rules of war.

(54) Pyrenæos montes usque Perpinienum subjecit; is the expression of Rorico, which betrays his recent date; fince Perpignan did not exist before the tenth century (Marca Hispanica, p. 458.). This florid and fabulous writer (perhaps a monk of Amiens. See the Abbé le Bouf, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. xv i. p. 228-245.) relates, in the allegorical character of a shepherd, the general history of his countrymen the Franks; but his narrative ends with the death of Clov s.

(55) The author of the Gesta Francorum positively affirms, that Clovis fixed a body of Franks in the Saintonge and Bourdelois: and he is not injudiciously followed by Ror co, electos milites, atque fortiffimos, cum parvulis, utque mulieribus. Yet it thould feem that they foon mingled with the Romans of Aquitain, vill Charlemagne introduced a more numerous and powerful colo-

my (Dubos Hitt. Citique, tom. ii. p. 215.).

pating, the nation of the Vifigoths. But the Viligoths were protected by the wife and powerful monarch of Italy While the balance was still equal, Theodoric had perhaps delayed the march of the Oftrogoths; but their strenuous efforts successfully refished the ambition of Clovis: and the army of the Franks, and their Burgundian allies, was compelled to raise the siege of Arles, with the loss, as it is faid, of thirty thou-These viciflitudes inclined the fierce fand men. spirit of Clovis to acquiese in an advantageous treaty of peace. The Visigoths were suffered to retain the poffession of Septimania, a narrow tract of fea-coast, from the Rhone to the Pyrenees; but the ample province of Aquitain, from those mountains to the Loire, was indiffolubly united to the kingdom of France (56).

After the success of the Gothic war, Clovis ac-Consulhip cepted the honours of the Roman consulhip of Clovis, The emperor Anastasius ambitiously bestowed on the most powerful rival of Theodoric, the title and ensigns of that eminent dignity; yet, from some unknown cause, the name of Clovis has not been inscribed in the Fasti either of the East or West (57). On the solemn day, the monarch

(56) In the composition of the Gothic war, I have used the following materials, with due regard to their unequal value. Four epistles from Theodoric king of Italy (Cassidor. 1. iii. epist. 1—4. in tom. iv. p. 3—5.), Procopius (de Bell. Goth. 1. i. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 32, 33.), Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 35, 36, 37. in tom. ii. p. 181—183.), Jornandes (de Reb. Geticis, c. 58. in tom. ii. p. 28.), Fortunatus (in Vit. S. Hilarii, in tom. iii. p. 380.), Isidore (in Chron. Goth. in tom. ii. p. 702.), the Epitome of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 401.), the author of the Gesta Francorum (in tom. ii. p. 553—555.), the Fragments of Fredegarius (in tom. ii. p. 463.), Aimoin (l. i. c. 20. in tom. iii. p. 41, 42.), and Rorico (l. iv. in tom. iii. p. 14—19.).

(57) The Fasti of Italy would naturally reject a consul, the

(57) The Fasti of Italy would naturally reject a conful, the enemy of their lovereign; but any ingenious hypothesis that might explain

of Gaul, placing a diadem on his head, was invefted, in the church of St. Martin, with a purple tunic and mantle. From thence he proceeded on horseback to the cathedral of Tours: and, as he passed through the streets, profusely fcattered, with his own hand, a donative of gold and filver to the joyful multitude, who inceffantly repeated their acclamations of Conful and The actual, or legal authority of Augustus. Clovis, could not receive any new accessions from the confular dignity. It was a name, a shadow, an empty pageant; and, if the con-queror had been instructed to claim the ancient preregatives of that high office, they must have expired with the period of its annual duration. But the Romans were disposed to revere, in the person of their master, that antique title, which the emperors condescended to assume: the Barbarian himself seemed to contract a sacred obligation to respect the majesty of the republic; and the successors of Theodosius, by soliciting his friendship, tacitly forgave, and almost ratified, the usurpation of Gaul.

Final effablishment of
the French this important concession was more formally demonarchy clared, in a treaty between his sons and the emin Gaul,
A. D. 536. peror Justinian. The Ostrogoths of Italy, unable to defend their distant acquisitions, had resigned to the Franks the cities of Arles and Marseilles: of Arles, still adorned with the seat of a
Prætorian

explain the filence of Constantinople and Egypt (the Chronicle of Marcellinus, and the Paschal), is overturned by the similar silence of Marius, bishop of Avenche, who composed his Fasti in the kingdom of Burgundy. If the evidence of Gregory of Tours were less weighty and positive (l. ii. c. 38. in tom. ii. p. 183.), I could believe that Clovis, like Odoacer, received the lasting title and honours of Patrician (Pagi Critica, tom. ii. p. 474. 492.).

Prætorian præfect; and of Marseilles, enriched by the advantages of trade and navigation (58). This transaction was confirmed by the Imperial authority; and Justinian, generously yielding to the Franks the fovereignty of the countries beyond the Alps, which they already possessed, abfolved the provincials from their allegiance; and established on a more lawful, though not more solid, foundation the throne of the Merovingians (59). From that æra, they enjoyed the right of celebrating at Arles, the games of the Circus; and by a fingular privilege, which was denied even to the Persian monarch, the gold coin, impressed with their name and image, obtained a legal currency in the empire (60). A Greek historian of that age has praifed the private and public virtues of the Franks, with a partial enthufiasm, which cannot be sufficiently justified by their domestic annals (61). He celebrates their politeness and urbanity,

(58) Under the Merovingian kings, Marseilles still imported from the East, paper, wine, oil, linen, filk, precious stones, spices, &c. The Gauls, or Franks, traded to Syria, and the Syrians were established in Gaul. See M. de Guignes, Mem. de l'Academie, tom. axxvii. p. 471-475.

(59) Ου γας ποτε φοντο Γαλλιας ξυν τω ασφαλει κεκτησθαι φεανγοι, μη τε αυτοκεατοςος το εεγον επισφεαγισαντος τετο γε. This firong declaration of Procopius (de Bell. Gothic. l. iii. c. 33. in tom. ii. p. 41.) would almost suffice to justify the Abbé Dubos.

(60) The Franks, who probably used the mints of Treves, Lyons, and Arles, imitated the coinage of the Roman emperors of seventy-two solidi, or pieces, to the pound of gold. But as the Franks established only a decuple proportion of gold and sitver, ten shillings will be a sufficient valuation of their solidus of gold. It was the common standard of the Barbaric sines, and contained forty denarii, or silver threepences. Twelve of these denarii made a solidus, or shilling, the twentieth part of the ponderal and numeral livre, or pound of silver, which has been so strangely reduced in modera France. See le Blanc Traite Historique des Monnoyes de France, p. 37—43, &c.

(61) Agathias, in tom. ii. p. 47. Gregory of Tours exhibits a very different picture. Perhaps it would not be easy, within the

banity, their regular government, and orthodox religion; and boldly afferts, that these Barbarians could be diftinguished only by their dress and language from the subjects of Rome. Perhaps the Franks already displayed the focial disposition, and lively graces, which in every age have difguifed their vices, and fometimes concealed their intrinsic merit. Perhaps Agathias, and the Greeks, were dazzled by the rapid progress of their arms, and the splendour of their empire. Since the conquest of Burgundy, Gaul, except the Gothic province of Septimania, was fubject, in its whole extent, to the fons of Clovis. They had extinguished the German kingdom of Thuringia, and their vague dominion penetrated beyond the Rhine, into the heart of their native forests. The Alemanni, and Bavarians, who had occupied the Roman provinces of Rhætia and Noricum, to the fouth of the Danube, confessed themselves the humble vassals of the Franks; and the feeble barrier of the Alps was incapable of refisting their ambition. When the last survivor of the fons of Clovis united the inheritance and conquefts of the Merovingians, his kingdom extended far beyond the limits of modern France. Yet modern France, such has been the progress of arts and policy, far furpaffes in wealth, populousness, and power, the spacious but savage realms of Clotaire or Dagobert (62).

Political The Franks, or French, are the only people of controver- Europe, who can deduce a perpetual fuccession from

same historical space, to find more vice and less virtue. We are continually shocked by the union of savage and corrupt manners.

(62) M. de Foncemagne has traced, in a correct and elegant dissertation (Mem. de l'Academie, tom. viii. p. 505-528.) the extent and limits of the French monarchy.

from the conquerors of the Western empire. But their conquest of Gaul was followed by ten centuries of anarchy, and ignorance. On the revival of learning, the students who had been formed in the schools of Athens and Rome, disdained their Barbarian anceftors; and a long period elapfed before patient labour could provide the requifite materials to fatisfy, or rather to excite, the curiofity of more enlightened times (63). At length the eye of criticism and philosophy was directed to the antiquities of France: but even philosophers have been tainted by the contagion of prejudice and passion. The most extreme and exclusive systems, of the personal servitude of the Gauls, or of their voluntary and equal alliance with the Franks, have been rashly conceived, and obstinately defended: and the intemperate disptants have accused each other of conspiring against the prerogative of the crown, the dignity of the nobles, or the freedom of the people. Yet the fharp conflict has usefully exercised the adverse powers of learning and genius; and each antagonist, alternately vanquished and victorious, has extirpated fome ancient errors, and established some interesting truths. An impartial stranger, instructed by their discoveries, their disputes, and even their faults, may describe, from the same original materials, the state of the Roman provincials, after VOL. VI.-F Gaul

⁽⁶³⁾ The Abbé Dubos (Hilloire Critique, tom. i. p. 29—36.) has truly and agreeably represented the slow progress of these studies; and he observes, that Gregory of Tours was only once printed before the year 1560. According to the complaint of Heineccius (Opera, tom. iii. p. 248, &c.), Germany received with indifference and contempt the codes of Barbaric laws, which were published by Heroldus, Lindenbrogius, &c. At present those laws (as far as they relate to Gaul), the history of Gregory of Tours, and all the monuments of the Merovingian race, appear in a pure and persect state, in the first four volumes of the historians of France.

Gaul had submitted to the arms and laws of the

Merovingian kings (64).

Laws of the Barbarians.

The rudest, or the most servile condition of human fociety, is regulated however by fome fixed and general rules. When Tacitus surveyed the primitive simplicity of the Germans, he difcovered fome permanent maxims, or customs, of public and private life, which were preferved by faithful tradition, till the introduction of the art of writing, and of the Latin tongue (65). Before the election of the Merovingian kings, the most powerful tribe, or nation, of the Franks, appointed four venerable chieftains to compose the Salic laws (66); and their labours were examined and approved in three fuccessive assemblies of the people. After the baptism of Clovis, he reformed feveral articles that appeared incompatible with Christianity: the Salic law was again amended by his fons; and at length, under the reign of Dagobert, the code was revised and promulgated in its actual

(64) In the space of thirty years (1728—1765) this interesting subject has been agitated by the free spirit of the Count de Boulain-villiers (Memoires Historiques sur l'Etat de la France, particularly tom. i. p. 15—49.); the learned ingenuity of the Abbé Dubos (Histoire Critique de l'Etablissement de la Monarchie Françoise dans les Gauls, 2 vol. in 4to.); the comprehensive genius of the president de Montesquieu) Esprit des Loix, particularly l. xxviii. xxx. xxxi.); and the good sense and diligence of the Abbé de Mably (Observations sur l'Histoire de France, 2 vol. 12mo.).

ons fur l'Histoire de France, 2 vol. 12mo.).

(65) I have derived much instruction from two learned works of Heineccius, the History, and the Elements, of the Germanic law. In a judicious preface to the Elements, he considers, and tries to excuse,

the defects of that barbarous jurisprudence.

(66) Latin appears to have been the original language of the Salic law. It was probably composed in the beginning of the fifth century, before the æra (A. D. 421.) of the real or fabulcus Pharamond. The preface mentions the four Cantons which produced the four legislators; and many provinces, Franconia, Saxony, Hanover, Brabant, &c. have claimed them as their own. See an excellent Disfertation of Heineccius, de Lege Salicâ, tom. iii. Sylloge iii. p. 247—267.

actual form, one hundred years after the establishment of the French monarchy. Within the fame period, the customs of the Ripuarians were tranfcribed and published; and Charlemagne himself, the legislator of his age and country, had accurately studied the two national laws, which still prevailed among the Franks (67). The fame care was extended to their vaffals; and the rude inftitutions of the dlemanni and Bavarians were diligently compiled and ratified by the supreme authority of the Merovingian kings. The Vifigoths and Burgundians, whose conquests in Gaul preceded those of the Franks, shewed less impatience to attain one of the principal benefits of civilifed fociety. Euric was the first of the Gothic princes. who expressed in writing the manners and customs of his people; and the composition of the Burgundian laws was a measure of policy rather than of justice; to alleviate the yoke, and regain the affections, of their Gallic subjects (68). Thus, by a fingular coincidence, the Germans framed their artless institutions, at a time when the elaborate system of Roman jurisprudence was finally confummated. In the Salic laws, and the Pandects of Justinian, we may compare the first rudiments, and the full maturity, of civil wisdom; and whatever prejudices may be suggested in favour of Barbarisin, our calmer reflections will ascribe

(67) Eginhard, in Vit. Caroli Magni, c. 29. in tom. v. p. 100. By these two laws, most critics understand the Salic and the Ripuarian. The former extended from the Carbonarian forest to the Loire (tom. iv. p. 151.), and the latter might be obeyed from the same so rest to the Rhine (tom. iv. p. 222.).

(68) Confult the ancient and modern prefaces of the feveral Codes, in the fourth volume of the historians of France. The original prologue to the Salic law expresses (though in a foreign dialect) the genuine spirit of the Franks, more forcibly than the ten books of Gregory of Tours.

ascribe to the Romans the superior advantages, not only of science and reason, but of humanity and justice. Yet the laws of the Barbarians were adapted to their wants and defires, their occupations and their capacity; and they all contributed to preserve the peace, and promote the improvements, of the fociety, for whose use they were originally established. The Merovingians, instead of imposing an uniform rule of conduct on their various subjects, permitted each people, and each family, of their empire, freely to enjoy their domestic institutions (69); nor were the Romans excluded from the common benefits of this legal to-Ieration (70). The children embraced the law of their parents, the wife that of her husband, the freedman that of his patron: and, in all causes, were the parties were of different nations, the plaintiff, or accuser, was obliged to follow the tribunal of the defendant, who may always plead a judicial prefumption of right, or innocence. A more ample latitude was allowed, if every citizen, in the presence of the judge, might declare the law under which he defired to live, and the national fociety to which he chofe to belong. Such an indulgence would abolish the partial distinctions

⁽⁵⁹⁾ The Ripuarian law declares, and defines, this indulgence in favour of the plaintiff (tit. xxxi. in tom. iv. p. 240.); and the fame toleration is underftood, or expressed, in all the Codes, except that of the Visigoths of Spain. Tanta diversitas legum (says Agobard, in the ninth century) quanta non solum in regionibus, aut civitatibus, sed etiam in multis domibus habetur. Nam plerumque contingit ut simul eant aut sedeant quinque homines, et nullus eorum communem legem cum altero habeat (in tom. vi. p. 356.). He soolishly proposes to introduce an uniformity of law, as well as of faith.

⁽⁷⁰⁾ Inter Romanos negotia causarum Romanis legibus præcipimus terminari. Such are the words of a general constitution promulgated by Clotaire, the son of Clovis, and sole monarch of the Franks (in tom. iv. p. 116.), about the year 560.

of victory; and the Roman provincials might patiently acquiesce in the hardships of their condition; since it depended on themselves to assume the privilege, if they dared to affert the character, of free and warlike Barbarians (71).

When justice inexorably requires the death of a Pecuniary murderer, each private citizen is fortified by the fines for homicide. affurance, that the laws, the magistrate, and the whole community, are the guardians of his perfonal fafety. But in the loofe fociety of the Germans, revenge was always honourable, and often meritorious; the independent warrior chastised, or vindicated, with his own hand, the injuries which he had offered, or received; and he had only to dread the refentment of the fons, and kinfmen, of the enemy whom he had facrificed to his felfish or angry passions. The magistrate, conscious of his weakness, interposed, not to punish, but to reconcile; and he was fatisfied if he could perfuade, or compel, the contending parties to pay, and to accept, the moderate fine which had been afcertained as the price of blood (72). The fierce spirit of

⁽⁷¹⁾ This liberty of choice has been aptly deduced (Esprit des Loix, 1. xxviii. 2.) from a constitution of Lothaire I. (Leg. Langobard, 1. ii. tit. lvii. in Codex Lindebrog. p. 664.): though the example is too recent and partial. From a various reading in the Salic law, (tit. xliv. not xlv.) the Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 290—293.) has conjectured, that, at first, a Barbarian only, and afterwards any man (consequently a Roman), might live according to the law of the Franks. I am forry to offend this ingenious conjecture by observing, that the stricter sense (Barbarum) is expressed in the reformed copy of Charlemagne; which is confirmed by the Royal and Wolsenbuttle MSS. The looser interpretation (hominem) is authorised only by the MS. of Fulda, from whence Heroldus published his edition. See the four original texts of the Salic law, in tom. iv. p. 147. 173. 196.

⁽⁷²⁾ In the heroic times of Greece, the guilt of murder was expiated by a pecuniary satisfaction to the family of the deceased (Feithius Antiquitat. Homeric. l. ii. c. 8.). Heineccius, in his presace

the Franks would have opposed a more rigorous fentence: the fame fierceness despised these ineffectual restraints; and, when their simple manners had been corrupted by the wealth of Gaul. the public peace was continually violated by acts of hafty or deliberate guilt. In every just government, the same penalty is inflicted, or at least is imposed, for the murder of a peasant, or a prince. But the national inequality established by the Franks, in their criminal proceedings, was the last infult and abuse of conquest (73). In the calm moments of legislation, they folemnly pronounced, that the life of a Roman was of smaller value than that of a Barbarian. The Antrustion (74), a name expressive of the most illustrious birth or dignity among the Franks, was appreciated at the fum of fix hundred pieces of gold; while the noble provincial, who was admitted to the king's table, might be legally murdered at the expence of three hundred pieces. Two hundred were deemed fufficient for a Frank of ordinary condition; but the meaner Romans were exposed to disgrace and danger by a trifling compensation of one hundred, or even fifty, pieces of

to the Elements of Germanic law, favourably suggests, that at Rome and Athens homicide was only punished with exile. It is true: but exile was a capital punishment for a citizen of Rome or Athens.

⁽⁷³⁾ This proportion is fixed by the Salic (tit. xliv. in tom. iv. p. 147.) and the Repuarian (tit. vii. xi. xxxvi. in tom. iv. p. 237. 241.) laws: but the latter does not diffinguish any difference of Romans. Yet the orders of the clergy are placed above the Franks themselves, and the Burgundians and Alemanni between the Franks and the Romans.

⁽⁷⁴⁾ The Antrustiones, qui in truste Dominica sunt, leudi, fideles, undoubtedly represent the first order of Franks; but it is a question whether their rank was personal, or hereditary. The Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 334-347.) is not displeased to mortify the pride of birth (Esprit, i. xxx. c. 25.), by dating the origin of French nobility from the reign of Clotaire II. (A. D. 615.)

of gold. Had these laws been regulated by any principle of equity or reason, the public protection should have supplied in just proportion the want of personal strength. But the legislator had weighed in the scale, not of justice, but of policy, the loss of a soldier against that of a slave: the head of an infolent and rapacious Barbarian was guarded by an heavy fine; and the flightest aid was afforded to the most defenceless subjects. Time infenfibly abated the pride of the conquerors, and the patience of the vanquished: and the boldest citizen was taught by experience, that he might fuffer more injuries than he could inflict. As the manners of the Franks became less ferocious, their laws were rendered more fevere; and the Merovingian kings attempted to imitate the impartial rigour of the Viligoths and Burgundians (75). Under the empire of Charlemagne, murder was univerfally punished with death; and the use of capital punishments has been liberally multiplied in the jurisprudence of modern Europe (76).

The civil and military professions, which had Judgments been separated by Constantine, were again united of God. by the Barbarians. The harsh sound of the Teutonic

(75) See the Burgundian laws (tit. ii. in tom. iv. p. 257.), the Code of the Visigoths (l. vi. tit. v. in tom. iv. p. 384.), and the conflitution of Childebert, not of Paris, but most evidently of Austra-sia (in tom. iv. p. 112.). Their premature severity was sometimes rash, and excessive. Childebert condemned not only murderers but robbers: quomodo sine lege involavit, sine lege moriatur; and even the negligent judge was involved in the same sentence. The Visigoths abandoned an unsuccessful surgeon to the samily of his deceased patient, ut quod de eo sacere voluerint habeant protestatem (l. xi. tit. i. in tom. iv. p. 435.).

(76) See in the fixth volume of the works of Heineccius, the Elementa Juris Germanici, 1. ii. p. ii. No. 261, 262. 283—283. Yet some vestiges of these pecuniary compositions for murder, have been traced in Germany, as late as the fixteenth century.

tonic appellations was mollified into the Latin titles of Duke, of Count, or of Præfect; and the same officer assumed, within his district, the command of the troops, and the administration of justice (77). But the fierce and illiterate chieftain was feldom qualified to discharge the duties of a judge, which require all the faculties of a philosophic mind, laboriously cultivated by experience and fludy; and his rude ignorance was compelled to embrace some simple, and visible, methods of ascertaining the cause of justice. In every religion, the Deity has been invoked to confirm the truth, or to punish the falsehood, of human testimony; but this powerful instrument was misapplied, and abused, by the simplicity of the German legisla-The party accused might justify his innocence, by producing before their tribunal a number of friendly witnesses, who solemnly declared their belief or affurance, that he was not guilty. According to the weight of the charge, this legal number of compurgators was multiplied; feventytwo voices were required to absolve an incendiary, or affaffin; and when the chaftity of a queen o France was suspected, three hundred gallant nobles fwore, without hefitation, that the infant prince had been actually begotten by her deceased husband (78). The fin, and scandal, of manifest and frequent perjuries engaged the magistrates to remove these dangerous temptations; and to supply the defects of human testimony, by the fa-

(77) The whole subject of the Germanic judges, and their jurifdiction, is copiously treated by Heineccius (Element. Jur. Germ. l. iii. No. 1—72.). I cannot find any proof, that, under the Merovingian race, the fcabini, or assessor, were chosen by the people.

vingian race, the fcabini, or affessors, were chosen by the people. (78) Gregor. Turon. 1. viii. c. 9. in tom. ii. p. 316. Montesquieu observes (Esprit des Loix, 1. xxviii. c. 13.), that the Salic law did not admit these negative proofs so universally established in the Barbaric codes. Yet this obscure concubine (Fredegundis), who became the wife of the grandson of Clovis, must have followed the Salic law.

mous experiments of fire and water. These extraordinary trials were fo capriciously contrived, that, in some cases, guilt, and innocence in others, could not be proved without the interpolition of a miracle. Such miracles were readily provided by fraud and credulity; the most intricate causes were determined by this eafy and infallible method; and the turbulent Barbarians, who might have disdained the sentence of the magistrate, submissively ac-

quiesced in the judgment of God (79).

But the trials by fingle combat gradually obtained superior credit and authority, among a warlike combats. people, who could not believe, that a brave man deferved to fuffer, or that a coward deferved to live (80). Both in civil and criminal proceedings. the plaintiff, or accuser, the defendant, or even the witness, were exposed to mortal challenge from the antagonist who was destitute of legal proofs; and it was incumbent on them, either to defert their cause, or publicly to maintain their honour in the lifts of battle. They fought either on foot or on horseback, according to the custom of their nation (81); and the decision of the sword, or lance, was ratified by the fanction of Heaven, of the judge, and of the people. This fanguina-

(79) Muratori, in the Antiquities of Italy, has given two Differtations (xxxviii, xxxix) on the judgments of God. It was expected, that fire would not burn the innocent; and that the pure, element of water would not allow the guilty to fink into its bosom.

(80) Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxviii. c. 17.) has condefcended to explain and excuse " la maniere de penser de nos peres," on the subject of judicial combats. He follows this strange institution from the age of Gundobald to that of St. Lewis; and the phi-

losopher is sometimes lost in the legal antiquarian.

(81) In a memorable duel at Aix-la-Chapelle (A. D. 820.), before the emperor Lewis the Pious; his biographer observes, secundum legem propriam, utpote quia uterque Gothus erat, equestri pugna congressus est (Vit. Lud. Pii, c. 33. in tom. vi. p. 103.). Ermoldus N gellus (1. iii. 543-628. in tom. vi. p. 48-50.), who describes the duel, admires the ars nova of fighting on horseback, which was unknown to the Franks,

ry law was introduced into Gaul by the Burgundians; and their legislator Gundobald (82) condefcended to answer the complaints and objections of his subject Avitus. " Is it not true," said the king of Burgundy to the bishop, "that the event of " national wars, and private combats, is directed " by the judgment of God; and that his provi-"dence awards the victory to the juster cause?" By fuch prevailing arguments, the abfurd and cruel practice of judicial duels, which had been peculiar to some tribes of Germany, was propagated and established in all the monarchies of Europe, from Sicily to the Baltic. At the end of ten centuries, the reign of legal violence was not totally extinguished; and the ineffectual censures of faints. of popes, and of fynods, may feem to prove, that the influence of superstition is weakened by its unnatural alliance with reason and humanity. The tribunals were stained with the blood, perhaps, of innocent and respectable citizens; the law, which now favours the rich, then yielded to the strong; and the old, the feeble, and the infirm, were condemned, either to renounce their fairest claims and possessions, to sustain the dangers of an unequal conflict (83), or to trust the doubtful aid of a mercenary champion. This oppressive jurisprudence was imposed on the provincials of Gaul, who complained of any injuries in their persons and

⁽⁸²⁾ In his original edict, published at Lyons (A. D. 501.), Gundobald establishes and justifies the use of judicial combat (Leg. Burgund. tit. xlv. in tom. ii. p. 267, 268.). Three hundred years afterwards, Agobard, bishop of Lyons, solicited Lewis the Pious to abolish the law of an Arian tyrant (in tom. vi. p. 356. 358.). He relates the conversation of Gundobald and Avitus.

^{(83) &}quot;Accidit (says Agobard), ut non solum valentes viribus, se sed etiam infirmi et senes lacestantur ad pugnam, etiam pro vilissemis rebus. Quibus foralibus certaminibus contingunt homicisti dia injusta; et crudeles ac perversi eventus judiciorum." Like a prudent rhetorician, he suppresses the legal privilege of hiring champions.

and property. Whatever might be the strength, or courage of individuals, the victorious Barbarians excelled in the love and exercise of arms; and the vanquished Roman was unjustly summoned to repeat, in his own person, the bloody contest, which had been already decided against his country (84).

A devouring hoft of one hundred and twenty Division of thousand Germans had formerly passed the Rhine lands bythe under the command of Ariovistus. One third part Barbarians. of the fertile lands of the Sequani was appropriated to their use; and the conqueror soon repeated his oppressive demand of another third, for the accommodation of a new colony of twenty-four thousand Barbarians, whom he had invited to share the rich harvest of Gaul (85). At the distance of five hundred years, the Visigoths and Burgundians, who revenged the defeat of Arioviftus, usurped the same unequal proportion of two-thirds of the fubject lands. But this distribution, instead of fpreading over the province, may be reasonably confined to the peculiar districts where the victorious people had been planted, by their own choice, or by the policy of their leader. In these districts, each Barbarian was connected by the ties of hospitality with fome Roman provincial. To this unwelcome guett, the proprietor was compelled to abandon two thirds of his patrimony: but the German, a shepherd, and a hunter, might sometimes content himself with a spacious range of

(85) Cæfar de Bell. Gall. l. i. c. 31. in tom. i. p. 213.

⁽⁸⁴⁾ Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, xxviii. c. 14.), who understands why the judicial combat was admitted by the Burgundians, Ripuarians, Alemanni, Bavarians, Lombards, Thuringians, Frifons, and Saxons, is satisfied (and Agobard seems to countenance the affertion), that it was not allowed by the Salic law. Yet the same custom, at least in cases of treason, is mentioned by Ermoldus Nigellus (l. iii. 543. in tom. vi. p. 48.), and the anonimous biographer of Lewis the Pious (c. 46. in tom. vi. p. 112.) as the mos antiquus Francorum, more Francis solito," &c. expressions too general to exclude the noblett of their tribes.

wood and pasture, and resign the smallest, though most valuable, portion, to the toil of the industrious husbandman (86). The filence of ancient and authentic testimony has encouraged an opinion, that the rapine of the Franks was not moderated. or difguifed, by the forms of a legal division; that they dispersed themselves over the provinces of Gaul, without order or controul; and that each victo ious robber, according to his wants, his avarice, and his strength, measured, with his sword, the extent of his new inheritance. At a distance from their fovereign, the Barbarians might indeed be tempted to exercise such arbitrary depredation; but the firm and artful policy of Clovis must curb a licentious spirit, which would aggravate the mifery of the vanquished, whilst it corrupted the union, and discipline of the conquerors. morable vase of Soissons is a monument, and a pledge, of the regular distribution of the Gallic spoils. It was the duty, and the interest, of Clovis to provide rewards for a successful army, and fettlements for a numerous people; without inflicting any wanton, or superfluous injuries, on the loyal catholics of Gaul. The ample fund, which he might lawfully acquire, of the Imperial patrimony, vacant lands, and Gothic usurpations, would diminish the cruel necessity of seizure and confiscation; and the humble provincials would more

⁽⁸⁶⁾ The obscure hints of a division of lands occasionally scattered in the laws of the Burgundians (tit. liv. No. 1, 2. in tom. iv. p. 271, 272.), and Visigoths (l. x. tit. i. No. 8, 9. 16. in tom. iv. p. 428, 429, 430.), are skilfully explained by the president Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 7, 8, 9.). I shall only add, that, among the Goths, the division seems to have been ascertained by the judgment of the neighbourhood; that the Barbarians frequently usurped the remaining third; and, that the Romans might recover their right, unless they were barred by a prescription of sifty years.

more patiently acquiesce in the equal and regular

distribution of their loss (87).

The wealth of the Merovingian princes confifted Domain in their extensive domain. After the conquest of and benefi-Gaul, they still delighted in the rustic simplicity of ces of the Merovingitheir ancestors: the cities were abandoned to soli-ans. tude and decay; and their coins, their charters, and their fynods, are still inscribed with the names of the villas, or rural palaces, in which they fucceffively refided. One hundred and fixty of these palaces, a title which need not excite any unfeafonable ideas of art or luxury, where scattered through the provinces of their kingdom; and if fome might claim the honours of a fortrefs, the far greater part could be efteemed only in the light of profitable farms. The mansion of the long-haired kings was furrounded with convenient yards, and stables, for the cattle and the poultry; the garden was planted with useful vegetables; the various trades, the labours of agriculture, and even the arts of hunting and fifthing, were exercifed by fervile hands for the emolument of the fovereign; his magazines were filled with corn and wine, either for fale or confumption; and the whole administration was conducted by the strictest maxims of private economy (88). This am-

(87) It is fingular enough, that the prefident de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 7.), and the Abbé de Mably (Observations, tom. i. 9. 21, 22.), agree in this strange supposition of arbitrary and private rapine. The count de Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. i. p. 22, 23.) shews a strong understanding, through

a cloud of ignorance, and prejudice.

(88) See the rustic edict, or rather code, of Charlemagne, which contains seventy distinct and minute regulations of that great monarch (in tom. v. p. 652-657.). He requires an account of the horns and skins of the goats, allows his fish to be fold, and carefully directs, that the larger villas (Capitanea) shall maintain one hundred hens and thirty geese; and the smaller (Mansionales) sifty hens and twelve geese. Mabillon de Re Diplomatica has investigated the names, the number, and the situation of the Merovingian villas.

ple patrimony was appropriated to supply the hofpitable plenty of Clovis, and his fuccessors; and to reward the fidelity of their brave companions, who, both in peace and war, were devoted to their personal service. Instead of an horse, or a suit of armour, each companion, according to his rank, or merit, or favour, was invested with a benefice, the primitive name, and most simple form of the feudal possessions. These gifts might be resumed at the pleasure of the sovereign; and his feeble prerogative derived fome support from the influence of his liberality. But this dependent tenure was gradually abolished (89) by the independent and rapacious nobles of France, who established the perpetual property, and hereditary fuccession, of their benefices: a revolution falutary to the earth, which had been injured, or neglected, by its precarious mafters (90). Besides these royal and beneficiary estates, a large proportion had been affigned, in the division of Gaul, of allodial and Salic lands: they were exempt from tribute, and the Salic lands were equally shared among the male descendants of the Franks (q1).

Private usurpatiens.

In the bloody discord, and filent decay of the Merovingian line, a new order of tyrants arose in the provinces, who, under the appellation of Seniors, or Lords, usurped a right to govern, and a licence to oppress, the subjects of their peculiar territory.

(89) From a passage of the Burgundian law (tit. i. No. 4. in tom. iv. p. 257.), it is evident, that a deserving son might expect to hold the lands which his father had received from the royal bounty of Gundobald. The Burgundians would firmly maintain their privilege, and their example might encourage the beneficiaries of

(90) The revolutions of the benefices and fiefs are clearly fixed by the Abbé de Mably. His accurate diffinction of times gives him a merit to which even Montesquieu is a stranger.

(91) See the Salic law (tit. lxii. in tom. iv. p. 156.). The origin and nature of these Salic lands, which, in times of ignorance, were perfectly understood, now perplex our most learned and fagacious critics.

territory. Their ambition might be checked by the hostile resistance of an equal; but the laws were extinguished; and the facrilegious Barbarians, who dared to provoke the vengeance of a faint or bishop (92), would seldom respect the landmarks of a profane and defenceles neighbour. The common, or public, rights of nature, fuch as they had always been deemed by the Roman jurisprudence (93), were severely restrained by the German conquerors, whose amusement, or rather passion, was the exercise of hunting. The vague dominion, which Man has affumed over the wild inhabitants of the earth, the air, and the waters, was confined to some fortunate individuals of the human species. Gaul was again overspread with woods; and the animals, who were referved for the use, or pleasure, of the lord, might ravage, with impunity, the fields of his industrious vasfals. The chace was the facred privilege of the nobles, and their domestic servants. Plebeian transgressors were legally chaftifed with stripes and imprisonment (94); but in an age which admitted a flight composition for the life of a citizen, it was a capital

⁽⁹²⁾ Many of the two hundred and fix miracles of St. Martin (Greg. Turon. in Maxima Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xi. p. 896—932.) were repeatedly performed to punish facrilege. Audite hæcomnes (exclaims the bishop of Tours), potestatem habentes, after relating, how some horses run mad, that had been turned into a facred meadow.

⁽⁹³⁾ Heinec. Element. Jur. German. 1. ii. p. 1. No. 8.

⁽⁹⁴⁾ Jonas, bishop of Orleans (A. D. 821 –826. Cave, Hist. Litteraria, p. 443.) censures the legal tyranny of the nobles. Proferis, quas cura hominum non aluit, sed Deus in commune mortalibus ad utendum concessit pauperes a potentioribus spoliantur, slagellantur, Ergastulis detruduntur, et multa alia patiuntur. Hoc enim qui faciunt, lege mundi se facere juste posse contendant. De Institutione Laicorum, l. ii. c. 23. apud Thomassin, Discipline de l'Eglise, tom. iii. p. 1348.

pital crime to destroy a stag or a wild bull within

the precincts of the royal forests (95).

Personal fervitude.

According to the maxims of ancient war, the conqueror became the lawful mafter of the enemy whom he had fubdued and spared (96): and the fruitful cause of personal slavery, which had been almost suppressed by the peaceful sovereignty of Rome, was again revived and multiplied by the perpetual hostilities of the independent Barbarians. The Goth, the Burgundian, or the Frank, who returned from a fuccessful expedition, dragged after him a long train of sheep, of oxen, and of human captives, whom he treated with the fame brutal contempt. The youths of an elegant form and ingenuous aspect, were set apart for the domestic service; a doubtful situation, which alternately exposed them to the favourable, or cruel. impulse of passion. The useful mechanics and fervants (fmiths, carpenters, taylors, shoemakers, cooks, gardeners, dyers, and workmen in gold and filver, &c.) employed their skill for the use, or profit, of their mafter. But the Roman captives who were destitute of art, but capable of labour, were condemned, without regard to their former rank, to tend the cattle, and cultivate the lands of the Barbarians. The number of the hereditary

(95) On a mere suspicion, Chundo, a chamberlain of Gontran, king of Burgundy, was stoned to death (Greg. Turon. l. x. c. 10. in tom. ii. p. 369.). John of Salisbury (Policrat. l. i. c. 4.) afferts the rights of nature, and exposes the cruel practice of the twelfth century. See Heineccius, Elem. Jur. Germ. l. ii. p. i. No. 51—57.

No. 51-57.

(96) The custom of enslaving prisoners of war was totally extinguished in the thirteenth century, by the prevailing influence of Christianity; but it might be proved, from frequent passages of Gregory of Tours, &c. that it was practised, without censure, under the Merovingian race; and even Grotius himself (de Jure Belli et Pacis, 1. iii. c. 7.), as well as his commentator Barbeyrac, have laboured to reconcile it with the laws of nature and reason.

hereditary bondsmen, who were attached to the Gallic estates, was continually increased by new supplies; and the servile people, according to the fituation and temper of their lords, was fometimes raifed by precarious indulgence, and more frequently depressed by capricious despotism (97). An absolute power of life and death was exercised by these lords; and when they married their daughters, a train of useful servants, chained on the waggons to prevent their escape, was sent as a nuptial present into a distant country (98). The majesty of the Roman laws protected the liberty of each citizen, against the rash effects of his own diffress, or despair. But the subjects of the Merovingian kings might alienate their personal freedom; and this act of legal fuicide, which was familiarly practifed, is expressed in terms most disgraceful and afflicting to the dignity of human nature (99). The example of the poor, who purchased life by the sacrifice of all that can render life defirable, was gradually imitated by the feeble and the devout, who, in times of public diforder, pufillanimoufly crowded to shelter. Vol. VI.-F them-

(97) The state, professions, &c. of the German, Italian, and Gallic slaves, during the middle ages, are explained by Heineccius (Element. Jur. Germ. l. i. No. 28—47.), Muratori (Dissertat. xiv. xv.), Ducange (Gloss. sub voce Servi), and the Abbé de Mably (Observations, tom. ii. p. 3, &c. p. 237, &c.).

Mably (Observations, tom. ii. p. 3, &c. p. 237, &c.).

(98) Gregory of Tours (l. vi. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 289.) relates a memorable example, in which Chilperic only abused the private rights of a master. Many families, which belonged to his domus fiscales, in the neighbourhood of Paris, were forcibly sent away

note Spain.

(99) Licentiam habeatis mihi qualemcunque volueritis disciplinam ponere; vel venumdare, aut quod vobis placuerit de me facere. Marculf. Formul. 1. ii. 28. in tom. iv. p. 497. The Formula of Lindenbrogius (p. 559.), and that of Anjou (p. 565.) are to the same effect. Gregory of Tours (1, vii. c. 45. in tom. ii. p. 311.) speaks of many persons, who sold themselves for bread, in a great famine.

themselves under the battlements of a powerful chief, and around the shrine of a popular saint. Their fubmission was accepted by these temporal, or spiritual, patrons; and the hasty transaction irrecoverably fixed their own condition, and that of their latest posterity. From the reign of Clovis, during five fuccessive centuries, the laws and manners of Gaul uniformly tended to promote the increase, and to confirm the duration, of personal servitude. Time and violence almost obliterated the intermediate ranks of society; and left an obscure and narrow interval between the noble and the flave. This arbitrary and recent division has been transformed by pride and prejudice into a national distinction, univerfally established by the arms and the laws of the Merovingians. The nobles, who claimed their genuine, or fabulous, descent, from the independent and victorious Franks, have afferted, and abused, the indefeasible right of conquest, over a proftrate crowd of flaves and plebeians, to whom they imputed the imaginary difgrace of a Gallic, or Roman, extraction.

Example of Auvergne.

The general state and revolutions of France, a name which was imposed by the conquerors, may be illustrated by the particular example of a province, a diocese, or a senatorial samily. Auvergne had formerly maintained a just pre-eminence among the independent states and cities of Gaul. The brave and numerous inhabitants displayed a singular trophy; the sword of Cæsar himself, which he had lost when he was repulsed before the walls of Gergovia (100). As the common off-

(100) When Cæser saw it, he laughed (Plutarch in Cæsar. in tom. i. p. 4.9): yet he relates his unfucces fur siege of Gergovia, with less trankness than we might expect from a great man to whom

offspring of Troy, they claimed a fraternal alliance with the Romans (101); and if each province had imitated the courage and loyalty of Auvergne, the fall of the Western empire might have been prevented, or delayed. They firmly maintained the fidelity which they had reluctantly fworn to the Vifigoths; but when their bravest nobles had fallen in the battle of Poitiers, they accepted, without refistance, a victorious and catholic fovereign. This easy and valuable conquest was atchieved, and possessed, by Theodoric, the eldest son of Clovis: but the remote province was separated from his Austrasian dominions, by the intermediate kingdoms of Soiffons, Paris, and Orleans, which formed, after their father's death, the inheritance of his three brothers. The king of Paris, Childebert, was tempted by the neighbourhood and beauty of Auvergne (102). The Upper country, which rifes towards the fouth into the mountains of the Cevennes, prefented a rich and various prospect of woods and pastures; the sides of the hills were clothed with vines; and each eminence was crowned with a villa or castle. In the Lower Auvergne, the river Allier flows through the fair and spacious plain of Limagne; and the inexhaustible fertility of the foil

whom victory was familiar. He acknowledges, however, that in one attack he lost forty-fix centurions and seven hundred men (de Bell. Galico, l. vi. c. 44—53. in tom. i. p. 270—272.).

(101) Audebant se quondam fratres Latio dicere, et sanguine ab Iliaco populos computare (Sidon. Apollinar. I, vii, epist. 7. in tom, i. p. 799.). I am not informed of the degrees and circumstances of this fabulous pedigree.

(102) Either the first, or second, partition among the sons of Clovis, had given Berry to Childebert (Greg. Turon. l. iii. c. 12. in tom. ii. p. 192.). Velim (said he), Arvernam Lemanem, quæ canta jocunditatis gratia refulgere dicitur oculis cernere, l. iii. c. 9. p. 191.). The face of the country was concealed by a thick sog, when the king of Paris made his entry into Clermont.

foil supplied, and still supplies, without any interval of repose, the constant repetition of the same harvests (103). On the false report, that their lawful fovereign had been flain in Germany, the city and diocese of Auvergne were betrayed by the grandson of Sidonius Apollinaris. Childebert enjoyed this clandestine victory; and the free subjects of Theodoric threatened to defert his flandard, if he indulged his private refentment, while the nation was engaged in the Burgundian war. But the Franks of Auftrasia soon yielded to the persuasive eloquence of their king. " low me," faid Theodoric, " into Auvergne: " I will lead you into a province, where you " may acquire gold, filver, flaves, cattle, and " precious apparel, to the full extent of your " wishes. I repeat my promise; I give you the " people, and their wealth, as your prey; aud " you may transport them at pleasure into your " own country." By the execution of this promife, Theodoric juftly forfeited the allegiance of a people, whom he devoted to destruction. troops, reinforced by the fiercest Barbarians of Germany (104), spread desolation over the fruitful face of Auvergne; and two places only, a strong castle, and a holy shrine, were saved, or redeemed, from their licentious fury. The caftle of

(103) For the description of Auvergne, see Sidonius (l. iv. epist. 21, in tom. i. p. 793.), with the notes of Savaron and Sirmond (p. 279. and 51. of their respective editions), Boulainvilliers (Etat de la France, tom. ii. p. 242—268.), and the Abbé de la Longuerue (Description de la France, part i. p. 132—139.).

(104) Furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte

(104) Furorem gentium, quæ de ulteriore Rheni amnis parte venerant, superare non poterat (Greg. Turon. l. iv. c. 50. in tom. ii. 229.), was the excuse of another king of Austrasia (A. D. 574.), for the ravages which his troops committed in the neight-bood of Paris.

of Meroliac (105) was seated on a lofty rock, which rose an hundred feet above the surface of the plain; and a large refervoir of fresh water was inclosed, with some arable lands, within the circle of its fortifications. The Franks beheld with envy and despair this impregnable fortres: but they surprised a party of fifty stragglers; and, as they were oppressed by the number of their captives, they fixed, at a trifling ranfom, the alternative of life or death for these wretched victims, whom the cruel Barbarians were prepared to massacre on the refusal of the garrison. Another detachment penetrated as far as Brivas, or Brioude, where the inhabitants, with their valuable effects, had taken refuge in the fanctuary of St. Julian. The doors of the church refisted the affault; but a daring foldier entered through a widow of the choir, and opened a passage to his companions. The clergy and people, the facred and the profane spoils, were rudely torn from the altar; and the facrilegious division was made at a small distance from the town of Brioude. But this act of impiety was feverely chaftifed by the devout fon of Clovis. He punished with death the most atrocious offenders; left their secret accomplices to the vengeance of St. Julian; released the captives; restored the plunder; and extended the rights of fanctuary, five miles round the fepulchre of the holy martyr (106).

(105) From the name and situation, the Benedictine editors of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 192.) have fixed this fortress at a place named Castel Merliac, two miles from Mauriac, in the Upper Auvergne. In this description, I translate infra as if I read intra; the two prepositions are perpetually confounded by Gregory, or his transcribers; and the sense must always decide.

(106) See these revolutions, and wars, of Auvergne, in Gre-

(106) See these revolutions, and wars, of Auvergne, in Gregory of Tours (l. ii. c. 37. in tom. ii. p. 183. and l. iii. c. 9. 12, 23. p. 191, 192. ds Miraculis S. Julian. c. 13. in tom. ii. p. 466.)

Story of Attalus.

Before the Austrasian army retreated from Auvergne, Theodoric exacted fome pledges of the future loyalty of a people, whose just hatred could be restrained only by their fear. A select band of noble youths, the fons of the principal fenators, was delivered to the conqueror, as the hostages of the faith of Childebert, and of their countrymen. On the first rumour of war, or conspiracy, these guiltless youths were reduced to a state of servitude; and one of them, Attalus (107), whose adventures are more particularly related, kept his mafter's horses in the diocese of Treves. After a painful fearch, he was discovered, in this unworthy occupation, by the emissaries of his grandfather, Gregory bishop of Langres; but his offers of ranfom were fternly rejected by the avarice of the Barbarian, who required an exorbitant fum of ten pounds of gold for the freedom of his noble captive. verance was effected by the hardy stratagem of Leo, a flave belonging to the kitchens of the bishop of Langres (108). An unknown agent ea-

He frequently betrays his extraordinary attention to his native

country.

(107) The story of Attalus is related by Gregory of Tours (l. iii. c. 16. in tom. ii. p. 193—195.). His editor, the P. Ruinart, confounds this Attalus, who was a youth (puer) in the year 532, with a friend of Sidonius of the same name, who was count of Autun, fifty or fixty years before. Such an error, which cannot be imputed to ignorance, is excused, in some degree, by its own magnitude.

(108) This Gregory, the great grandfather of Gregory of Tours (in tom. ii. p. 197. 490.), lived ninety-two years; of which he passed forty, as count of Autun, and thirty-two, as bishop of Langres. According to the poet Fortunatus, he display-

ed equal merit in these different stations.

Nobilis antiqua decurrens prole parentum, Nobilior gestis, nunc super astra manet. Arbiter ante serox, dein pius ipse sacerdos, Quos domuit judex, sovet amore patris.

fily introduced him into the same family. The Barbarian purchased Leo for the price of twelve pieces of gold; and was pleased to learn, that he was deeply skilled in the luxury of an episcopal table: "Next Sunday," faid the Frank, " I " shall invite my neighbours, and kinsmen. Exert thy art, and force them to confess, that " they have never feen, or tafted, fuch an enter-" tainment, even in the king's house." Leo asfured him, that, if he would provide a sufficient quantity of poultry, his wishes should be fatisfied. The mafter, who already airired to the merit of elegant hospitality, assumed, as his own, the praise which the voracious guests u animously bestowed on his cook; and the dextrous Leo intinfibly acquired the trust and management of his household. After the patient expetition of a whole year, he cautiously whilpered his delign to Attalus, and exhorted him to prepare for flight in the enfuing night. At the hour of minnight, the intemperate guests retired from table; and the Frank's ton-in-law, whom Leo attended to his apartment with a nocturnal potation, condefeended to jeft on the facility with which he might betray his truft. The increpid flave, after fuftaining this dangerous raillery, entered his mafter's bed-chamber; removed his spear and shield; filently drew the fleetest horses from the stable; unbarred the ponderous gates; and excited Attalus to fave his life and liberty by inceffant diligence. Their apprehensions urged them to leave their horses on the banks of the Meuse (109); they fwam the river, wandered three days in the adjacent

⁽²⁰⁹⁾ As M. de Valois, and the P. Ruinart, are determined to change the Mosella of the text into Mosel, it becomes me to acquiesce in the alteration. Yet, after some examination of the topography, I could defend the common reading.

adjacent forest, and subsisted only by the accidental discovery of a wild plum-tree. As they lay concealed in a dark thicket, they heard the noise of horses; they were terrified by the angry countenance of their master, and they anxiously listened to his declaration, that, if he could seize the guilty fugitives, one of them he would cut in pieces with his fword, and would expose the other At length, Attalus, and his faithon a gibbet. ful Leo, reached the friendly habitation of a presbyter of Rheims, who recruited their fainting strength with bread and wine, concealed them from the fearch of their enemy, and fafely conducted them, beyond the limits of the Austrasian kingdom, to the episcopal palace of Langres. Gregory embraced his grandson with tears of joy, gratefully delivered Leo, with his whole family, from the yoke of fervitude, and bestowed on him the property of a farm, where he might end his days in happiness and freedom. Perhaps this fingular adventure, which is marked with fo many circumstances of truth and nature, was related by Attalus himself, to his cousin, or nephew, the first historian of the Franks. Gregory of Tours (110) was born about fixty years after the death of Sidonius Apollinaris; and their fituation was almost fimilar, fince each of them was a native of Auvergne, a fenator, and a bishop. The difference of their style and fentiments may, therefore, express the decay of Gaul; and clear-

⁽¹¹⁰⁾ The parents of Gregory (Gregorius Plorentius Georgius) were of noble extraction (natalibus . . . illustres), and they possessed large estates (latifundia) both in Auvergne and Burgundy. He was born in the year 539, was consecrated bishop of Tours in 573, and died in 593, or 595, soon after he had terminated his history. See his Life by Odo, abbot of Clugny (in tom. ii. p. 129—135.), and a new Life in the Memoires de l'Academie, &c. tom. xxvi. p. 598—637.

ly ascertain how much, in so short a space, the human mind had lost of its energy and refinement (111).

We are now qualified to despise the opposite, Privileges and perhaps, artful, missepresentations, which mans of have foftened, or exaggerated, the oppression of Gaul. the Romans of Gaul under the reign of the Merovingians. The conquerors never promulgated any universal edict of servitude, or confiscation: but a degenerate people, who excused their weakness by the specious names of politeness and peace, was exposed to the arms and laws of the ferocious Barbarians, who contemptuoufly infulted their poffeffions, their freedom, and their fafety. Their perfonal injuries were partial and irregular; but the great body of the Romans furvived the revolution, and still preserved the property, and privileges, of citizens. A large portion of their lands was exacted for the use of the Franks: but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute (112); and the same irrefitible viol nce which swept away the arts and manufactures of Gaul, destroyed the elaborate and expensive system of Imperial despotism. The Provincials must frequently deplore the savage jurisprudence of the Salic or Ripuarian laws; but their private life, in the important concerns of

⁽¹¹¹⁾ Decedente atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium culturâ literarum, &c. (in præfat. in tom. ii. p. 137.), is the complaint of Gregory himfelf, which he fully verifies by his own work. His thyle is equally devoid of elegance and timplicity. In a conspicuous station he still remained a stranger to his own age and country; and in a prolix work (the five last books contain ten yeas) he has omitted almost every thing that posterity desires to learn. I have tediously acquired, by a painful perusal, the right of pronouncing this unfavourable sentence.

⁽¹¹²⁾ The Abbé de Mably (tom. i. p. 247-267.) has diligently confirmed this opinion of the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxx. c. 33.).

marriage, testaments, or inheritance, was still regulated by the Theodofian Code; and a discontented Roman might freely aspire; or descend, to the title and character of a Barbarian. The honours of the state were accessible to his ambition: the education and temper of the Romans more peculiarly qualified them for the offices of civil government; and, as foon as emulation had rekindled their military ardour, they were permitted to march in the ranks, or even at the head, of the victorious Germans. I shall not attempt to enumerate the generals and magistrates, whose names (113) attest the liberal policy of the Merovingians. The supreme command of Burgundy, with the title of patrician, was successively entrusted to three Romans; and the last, and most powerful, Mummolus (114), who alternately faved and diflurbed the monarchy, had supplanted his father in the station of count of Autun, and left a treafure of thirty talents of gold, and two hundred and fifty talents of filver. The fierce and illiterate Barbarians were excluded, during feveral generations, from the dignities, and even from the orders, of the church (115). The clergy of Gaul confifted almost entirely of native Provin-

(114) Eunius Mummolus is repeatedly mentioned by Gregory of Tours, from the fourth (c. 42. p. 224.) to the feventh (c. 40. p. 310.) book. The computation by talents is fingular enough; but if Gregory attached any meaning to that obfolete word, the treasures of Mummolus must have exceeded 100,000l. sterling.

(115) See Fleury, Discours iii. tur l'Histoire Ecclesiastique.

⁽¹¹³⁾ See Dubos, Hist. Critique de la Monarchie Francoise, (tom. ii. l. vi. c. 9, 10.). The French antiquarians establish as a principle, that the Romans and Barbarians may be distinguished by their names. Their names undoubtedly form a reasonable presumption; yet in reading Gregory of Tours, I have observed Gondulsus, of Senatorian, or Roman, extraction (l. vi. c. 11. in tom. ii. p. 273); and Claudius, a Barbarian (l. vii. c. 29. p. 303.).

cials; the haughty Franks fell proftrate at the feet of their subjects, who were dignified with the episcopal character; and the power and riches which had been loft in war, were infenfibly recovered by superstition (116). In all temporal affairs, the Theodolian Code was the universal law of the clergy; but the Barbaric jurisprudence had liberally provided for their personal safety: a fub-deacon was equivalent to two Franks; the antrustion, and prieft, were held in fimilar estimation; and the life of a bishop was appreciated far above the common standard, at the price of nine hundred pieces of gold (117). The Romans communicated to their conquerors the use of the Christian religion and Latin language (118): but their language and their religion had alike degenerated from the simple purity of the Augustan, and Apostolic, age. The progress of superstition and Barbariim was rapid and universal: the worship of the faints concealed from vulgar eyes the God of the Christians; and the rustic dialect of peafants and foldiers was corrupted by a Teu. tonic idiom and pronunciation. Yet such intercourle

(116) The bishop of Tours himself has recorded the complaint of Chilperic, the grandson of Clovis. Ecce pauper remansit Fiscus noster; ecce divitize nostræ ad ecclesias sunt translatæ: nulli penitus nisi soli Episcopi regnant (1, vi. c. 46, in tom. ii. p. 291.).

(117) See the Ripuarian Code (tit. xxxvi, in tom. iv. p. 241.). The Salic law does not provide for the fafety of the clergy; and we might suppose, on the behalf of the more civilized tribe, that they had not foreseen such an impious act as the murder of a priest. Yet Prætextatus, archbishop of Rouen, was assassinated by the order of queen Fredegundis, before the altar (Greg. Turon, I. viii. c. 21. in tom. ii. p. 326.).

ron. l. viii. c. 31, in tom. ii. p. 326.).

(118) M. Bonamy (Mem. de l'Academie des Inscriptions, tom. xxiv. p. 582-670.) has ascertained the Lingua Romana Rustica, which, through the medium of the Romance, has gradually been possibled into the actual form of the French language. Under the Carlovingian race, the kings and nobles of France Itili

understood the dialect of their German ancestors,

course of sacred and social communion, eradicated the distinctions of birth and victory; and the nations of Gaul were gradually confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

Anarchy of

The Franks, after they mingled with their Galthe Franks lie subjects, might have imparted the most valuable of human gifts, a spirit, and system, of con-Under a king, hereditary but stitutional liberty. limited, the chiefs and counfellors might have debated, at Paris, in the palace of the Cæsars: the adjacent field, where the emperors reviewed their mercenary legions, would have admitted the legislative assembly of the freemen and warriors; and the rude model, which had been sketched in the woods of Germany (119), might have been polished and improved by the civil wisdom of the Romans. But the careless Barbarians, secure of their personal independence, disdained the labour of government: the annual affemblies of the month of March were filently abolished; and the nation was separated, and almost dissolved, by the conquest of Gaul (120). The monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice, of arms, or of revenue. The successors of Clovis wanted refolution to affume, or strength to exercise, the legislative and executive powers, which the people had abdicated: the royal prerogative was diffinguished only by a more ample privilege of rapine and murder; and the love of freedom, so often invigorated and disgraced by private ambition, was reduced, among the licen-

> (119) Ce beau systeme a été trouvé dans les bois. Montesquieu, Esprit des Loix, l. xi. c. 6.

⁽¹²⁰⁾ See the Abbe de Mably. Observations, &c. tom, i. p. 34-56. It should feem that the institution of national assemblies, which are coeval with the French nation, have never been congenial to its temper.

tious Franks, to the contempt of order, and the defire of impunity. Seventy-five years after the death of Clovis, his grandfon, Gontran, king of Burgundy, fent an army to invade the Gothic possessions of Septimania, or Languedoc. The troops of Burgundy, Berry, Auvergne, and the adjacent territories, were excited by the hopes of spoil. They marched, without discipline, under the banners of German, or Gallic, counts: their attack was feeble and unfuccessful; but the friendly and hostile provinces were defolated with indifcriminate rage. The corn-fields, the villages, the churches themselves, were consumed by fire; the inhabitants were massacred, or dragged into captivity; and, in the diforderly retreat, five thousand of these inhuman savages were destroyed by hunger or intestine discord. When the pious Gontran reproached the guilt, or neglect, of their leaders; and threatened to inflict, not a legal fentence, but inftant and arbitrary execution; they accused the universal and incurable corruption of the people. "No one," they faid, "any "longer fears or respects his king, his duke, or " his count. Each man loves to do evil, and " freely indulges his criminal inclinations. " most gentle correction provokes an immediate "tumult; and the rash magistrate, who presumes "to censure, or restrain, his seditious subjects, " feldom escapes alive from their revenge (121)." It has been referved for the fame nation to expose, by

⁽¹²¹⁾ Gregory of Tours (l. viii. c. 30. in tom. ii. p. 325, 326.) relates, with much indifference, the crimes, the reproof, and the apology. Nullus Regem metuit, nullus Ducem, nullus Comitem reveretur; et si fortasiis alicui ista displicent, et ea, pro longævitate vitæ vestræ, emendare conatur, statim seditio in populo, statim tumultus exoritur, et in tantum unusquisque contra seniorem, sævå intentione grassatur, ut vix se credat evadere, si tandem silere nequiverit.

by their intemperate vices, the most odious abuse of freedom; and to supply its loss by the spirit of honour and humanity, which now alleviates and dignifies their obedience to an absolute sovereign.

The Vingoths of Spain.

The Vifigoths had refigned to Clovis the greatest part of their Gallic possessions; but their loss was amply compensated by the easy conquest, and fecure enjoyment, of the provinces of Spain. From the monarchy of the Goths, which foon involved the Suevic kingdom of Galicia, the modern Spaniards still derive some national vanity: but the historian of the Roman Empire is neither invited, nor compelled, to pursue the obscure and barren series of their annals (122). The Goths of Spain were separated from the rest of mankind, by the lofty ridge of the Pyrenæan mountains: their manners and institutions, as far as they were common to the Germanic tribes, have been already explained. I have anticipated, in the preceding chapter, the most important of their ecclesiastical events, the fall of Arianism, and the persecution of the Jews: and it only remains to obferve some interesting circumstances, which relate to the civil and ecclefiaftical conftitution of the Spanish kingdom.

Legislative assemblies of Spain.

After their conversion from idolatry or herefy, the Franks and the Visigoths were disposed to embrace, with equal submission, the inherent evils, and the accidental benefits, of superstition. But the prelates of France, long before the extinction of the Merovingian race, had degenerated into sighting and hunting Barbarians. They displaned

(122) Spain, in these dark ages, has been peculiarly unfortunate. The Franks had a Gregory of Tours; the Saxons, or Angles, a Bede; the Lombards a Paul Warnestid, &c. But the hittory of the Visigoths is contained in the short and impersect chronicles of Isidore of Seville, and John of Biclar.

dained the use of synods; forgot the laws of temperance and chastity; and preferred the indulgence of private ambition and luxury, to the general interest of the sacerdotal profession (123). The bishops of Spain respected themselves, and were respected by the public: their indissoluble union difguised their vices, and confirmed their authority; and the regular discipline of the church introduced peace, order, and stability into the government of the state. From the reign of Recared, the first Catholic king, to that of Witiza, the immediate predecessor of the unfortunate Roderic, fixteen national councils were fuccessively convened. The fix Metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne, prefided according to their respective seniority; the affembly was composed of their suffragan bishops, who appeared in person, or by their proxies; and a place was affigned to the most holy, or opulent, of the Spanish abbots. During the first three days of the convocation, as long as they agitated the ecclefiaftical questions of doctrine and discipline, the profane laity was excluded from their debates; which were conducted, however, with decent folemnity. But, on the morning of the fourth day, the doors were thrown open for the entrance of the great officers of the palace, the dukes and counts of the provinces, the judges of the cities, and the Gothic nobles: and the decrees of Heaven were ratified by the confent of the people. The same rules were observed in the provincial assemblies, the an-

⁽¹²³⁾ Such are the complaints of St. Boniface, the apostle of Ge many, and the reformer of Gaul (in tom. iv. p. 94.). The fourfcore years, which he deplores, of licence and corruption, would feem to infiniate that the Barbarians were admitted into the clergy about the year 660.

nual fynods which were empowered to hear complaints, and to redress grievances; and a legal government was supported by the prevailing influence of the Spanish clergy. The bishops, who, in each revolution, were prepared to flatter the victorious, and to infult the proftrate, laboured, with diligence and success, to kindle the flames of perfecution, and to exalt the mitre above the crown. Yet the national councils of Toledo, in which the free spirit of the Barbarians was tempered and guided by episcopal policy, have established some prudent laws for the common benefit of the king and people. The vacancy of the throne was supplied by the choice of the bishops and Palatines; and, after the failure of the line of Alaric, the regal dignity was still limited to the pure and noble blood of the Goths. The clergy, who anointed their lawful prince, always recommended, and sometimes practised, the duty of allegiance: and the spiritual censures were denounced on the heads of the impious subjects, who should refist his authority, conspire against his life, or violate, by an indecent union, the chaffity even of his widow. But the monarch himself. when he ascended the throne, was bound by a reciprocal oath to God and his people, that he would faithfully execute his important trust. The real or imaginary faults of his administration were fubject to the controll of a powerful aristocracy; and the bishops and palatines were guarded by a fundamental privilege, that they should not be degraded, imprisoned, tortured, nor punished with death, exile, or confiscation, unless by the free and public judgment of their peers (124).

One

⁽¹²⁴⁾ The acts of the councils of Toledo are still the most authentic records of the church and constitution of Spain. The following

One of these legislative councils of Toledo, Code of the examined and ratified the code of laws which Vingoths. had been compiled by a fuccession of Gothic kings, from the fierce Euric, to the devout Egica. As long as the Vifigoths themselves were fatisfied with the rude customs of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects of Aquitain and Spain in the enjoyment of the Roman law. Their gradual improvement in arts, in policy, and at length in religion, encouraged them to imitate, and to superfede, these foreign institutions; and to compose a code of civil and criminal jurisprudence, for the use of a great and united people. The same obligations, and the fame privileges, were communicated to the nations of the Spanish monarchy: and the conquerors, infenfibly renouncing the Teutonic idiom, submitted to the restraints of equity, and exalted the Romans to the participation of freedom. The merit of this impartial policy was enhanced by the fituation of Spain, under the reign of the Vifigoths. The Provincials were long separated from their Arian masters, by the irreconcileable difference of religion. After the conversion of Recared had removed the prejudices of the Catholics, the coasts, both of the Ocean and Mediterranean, were still possessed by the Eastern emperors; who secretly excited a difcontented people, to reject the yoke of the Barbarians, and to affert the name and dignity of Roman citizens. The allegiance of doubtful subjects is indeed most effectually secured by Vol. VI.-F their

following passages are particularly important (iii. 17, 18. iv. 75. v. 2, 3, 4, 5. 8. vi. 11, 12, 13, 14. 17, 18. vii. 1. xiii. 2, 3. 6.). I have found Mascou (Hist. of the ancient Germans, xv. 29. and Annotations, xxvi. and xxxiii.) and Ferreras (Hist. Generale de l'Espagne, tom. ii.) very useful and accurate guides

their own persuasion, that they hazard more in a revolt, than they can hope to obtain by a revolution; but it has appeared so natural to oppress those whom we hate and fear, that the contrary fystem well deserves the praise of wisdom and moderation (125).

Revolution

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Vifiof Britain. goths were established in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons atchieved the conquest of Britain, the third great diocese of the Præsecture of the West. Since Britain was already separated from the Roman empire, I might, without reproach, decline a story, familiar to the most illiterate, and obscure to the most learned, of my readers. The Saxons, who excelled in the use of the oar, or the battle-axe, were ignorant of the art which could alone perpetuate the fame of their exploits: the Provincials, relapfing into Barbarism, neglected to describe the ruin of their country; and the doubtful tradition was almost extinguifhed, before the millionaries of Rome restored the light of science and Christianity. The declamations of Gildas, the fragments, or fables, of Nennius, the obscure hints of the Saxon laws and chronicles, and the ecclefiaftical tales of the venerable Bede (126), have been illustrated by the

⁽¹²⁵⁾ The Code of the Vifigoths, regularly divided into twelve books, has been correctly published by Dom Bouquet (in tom. iv. p. 273-460.) It has been treated by the president de Montesquieu (Esprit des Loix, l. xxvili. c. 1.) with excellive severity. I dislike the stile; I detest the superstition: but I shall presume to think, that the civil jurisprudence displays a more civilized and enlightened thate of fociety, than that of the Burgundians, or even of the Lombards.

⁽¹²⁶⁾ See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. 11--25. p. 4--9. edit. Gale, Nennius Hit. Britonum, c.28.35-65. p. 105-115.edit. Gale. Bede Hift, Ecclefiaft, Gentis Anglorum, I. I. c. 12-16. p. 49-

the diligence, and fometimes embellished by the fancy, of succeeding writers, whose works I am not ambitious either to censure, or to transcribe (127). Yet the historian of the empire may be tempted to pursue the revolutions of a Roman province, till it vanishes from his sight; and an Englishman may curiously trace-the establishment of the Barbarians, from whom he derives his name, his laws, and perhaps his origin.

About forty years after the diffolution of the Descent of Roman government, Vortigern appears to have the Saxons, obtained the supreme, though precarious, command of the princes and cities of Britain. That unfortunate monarch has been almost unanimously condemned for the weak and mischievous policy of inviting (128) a formidable stranger to repel the vexatious inroads of a domestic foe. His ambassadors are dispatched, by the gravest historians, to the coast of Germany; they address a pathetic oration to the general assembly of the Saxons, and those warlike Barbarians resolve to assist with a sleet and army the

53. c. 22. p. 58. edit. Smith. Chron. Saxonicum, p. 11-23, &c. edit. Gibson. The Anglo-Saxon laws were published by Wilkins, London 1731, in folio: and the Leges Wallicæ, by Wotton and Clarke, London 1730, in folio.

(127) The laborious Mr. Carte, and the ingenious Mr. Whitaker, are the two modern writers to whom I am principally indebted. The particular historian of Manchester embraces, under that obscure title, a subject almost as extensive as the general history of England.

(128) This invitation, which may derive some countenance from the loose expressions of Gildas and Bede, is framed into a regular story by Witkind, a Saxon monk of the tenth century (see Coufin, Hist. de l'Empire d'Occident, tom. ii. p. 356.). Rapin, and even Hume, have too freely used this suspicious evidence, without regarding the precise and probable testimony of Nennius: Intereavenerunt tres Chiulee a Germania in existio pulsa, in quibus erant Hors et Hengist.

suppliants of a distant and unknown island. Britain had indeed been unknown to the Saxons, the measure of its calamities would have been less complete. But the strength of the Roman government could not always guard the maritime province against the pirates of Germany: the independent and divided states were exposed to their attacks; and the Saxons might fometimes join the Scots and the Picts, in a tacit, or express, confederacy of rapine and destruction. Vortigern could only balance the various perils. which affaulted on every fide his throne and his people; and his policy may deferve either praise or excuse, if he preferred the alliance of those Barbarians, whose naval power rendered them the most dangerous enemies, and the most ferviceable allies. Hengist and Horsa, as they ranged along the Eastern coast with three ships, were engaged, by the promise of an ample stipend, to embrace the defence of Britain; and their intrepid valour foon delivered the country from the Caledonian invaders. The ifle of Thanet, a secure and fertile district, was allotted for the residence of these German auxiliaries, and they were supplied, according to the treaty, with a plentiful allowance of clothing and provisions. This favourable reception encouraged five thoufand warriors to embark with their families in seventeen vessels, and the infant power of Hengist was fortified by this ftrong and feafonable reinforcement. The crafty Barbarian fuggested to Vortigern the obvious advantage of fixing, in the neighbourhood of the Picts, a colony of faithful allies: a third fleet of forty ships, under the command of his fon and nephew, failed from Germany, ravaged the Orkneys, and difembarked

barked a new army on the coast of Northumberland, or Lothian, at the opposite extremity of the devoted land. It was eafy to forefee, but it was impossible to prevent, the impending evils. The two nations were foon divided and exasperated by mutual jealousies. The Saxons magnified all that they had done and fuffered in the cause of an ungrateful people; while the Britons regretted the liberal rewards which could not fatisfy the avarice of those haughty mercenaries. causes of fear and hatred were inflamed into an irreconcileable quarrel. The Saxons flew to arms; and, if they perpetrated a treacherous maffacre during the fecurity of a feaft, they defroyed the reciprocal confidence which fuftains the intercourse of peace and war (129).

Hengist, who boldly aspired to the conquest Establishof Britain, exhorted his countrymen to embrace ment of
the glorious opportunity: he painted in lively heptarchy,
colours the fertility of the soil, the wealth of the A. D. 455
cities, the pusillanimous temper of the natives,
and the convenient situation of a spacious solitary island, accessible on all sides to the Saxon
sleets. The successive colonies which issued, in
the period of a century, from the mouths of the
Elbe, the Weser, and the Rhine, were principally composed of three valiant tribes or nations
of Germany: the Jutes, the old Saxons, and the
Angles. The Jutes, who fought under the peculiar banner of Hengist, assumed the merit of
leading

(129) Nennius imputes to the Saxons the murder of three hundred British chiefs; a crime not unsuitable to their savage manners. But we are not obliged to believe (see Jessier of Monmouth, I. viii. c. 9—12.), that Stonehenge is their monument, which the giants had formerly transported from Africa to Ireland, and which was removed to Britain by the order of Ambrosius, and the art of Merlin.

leading their countrymen in the paths of glory, and of erecting, in Kent, the first independent kingdom. The fame of the enterprise was attributed to the primitive Saxons; and the common laws and language of the conquerors are described by the national appellation of a people, which, at the end of four hundred years, duced the first monarchs of South Britain. Angles were diffinguished by their numbers and their fuccess; and they claimed the honour of fixing a perpetual nane on the country, of which they occupied the most ample portion. Barbarians, who followed the hopes of rapine either on the land or fea, were infenfibly blended with this triple confederacy; the Frifians, who had been tempted by their vicinity to the British shores, might balance, during a short space, the strength and reputation of the native Saxons; the Danes, the Prussians, the Rugians are faintly described; and some adventurous Huns, who had wandered as far as the Baltic, might embark on board the German vessels, for the conquest of a new world (130). But this arduous atchievement was not prepared or executed by the union of national powers. Each intrepid chieftain, according to the measure of his fame and fortunes. affembled his followers; equipped a fleet of three, or perhaps of fixty, veffels; chose the place of the attack; and conducted his fubfequent operations according to the events of the war and the dictates of his private interest. In the invasion of Britain many heroes vanguished and

⁽¹³⁰⁾ All these tribes are expressly enumerated by Bede (l. i. c. 15. p. 52, l. v. c. 9. p. 190.), and though I have considered Mr. Whitaker's remarks (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 538—543.) I do not perceive the absurdity of supposing that the Fridans, &c. were mingled with the Anglo-Saxons.

and fell; but only seven victorious leaders asfumed, or at least maintained, the title of kings. Seven independent thrones, the Saxon Heptarchy, were founded by the conquerors, and seven families, one of which has been continued, by semale succession, to our present sovereign, derived their equal and sacred lineage from Woden, the god of war. It has been pretended, that this republic of kings was moderated by a general council and a supreme magistrate. But such an artificial scheme of policy is repugnant to the rude and turbulent spirit of the Saxons: their laws are silent; and their impersect annals afford only a dark and bloody prospect of intestine discord (131).

A monk, who, in the profound ignorance of State of the human life, has prefumed to exercise the office of Britons. historian, strangely disfigures the state of Britain at the time of its separation from the Western empire. Gildas (132) describes in storid language the improvements of agriculture, the foreign trade which slowed with every tide into the Thames and the Severn, the solid and losty construction of public and private edifices: he accuses the sinful luxury of the British people; of a people, according to the same writer, ignorant of the most simple arts, and incapable, without the aid of the Romans, of providing walls of stone, or weapons of iron, for the desence of their

⁽¹³¹⁾ Bede has enumerated seven kings, two Saxons, a Jute, and four Angles, who successively acquired in the heptarchy an indefinite supremacy of power and renown. But their reign was the effect, not of law, but of conquest; and he observes, in similar torms, that one of them subdued the Isles of Man and Anglesey; and that another imposed a tribute on the Scots and Picts (Hist. Eccles. 1. ii. c. 5. p. 83.).

⁽¹³²⁾ See Gildas de Excidio Britanniæ, c. i. p. 1. edit.

native land. (133) Under the long dominion of the emperors, Britain had been infenfibly moulded into the elegant and fervile form of a Roman province, whose safety was entrusted to a foreign power. The subjects of Honorius contemplated their new freedom with furprise and terror; they were left destitute of any civil or military conftitution; and their uncertain rulers wanted either skill, or courage, or authority, to direct the public force against the common ene-The introduction of the Saxons betrayed their internal weakness, and degraded the character both of the prince and people. consternation magnified the danger; the want of union diminished their resources; and the madness of civil fractions was more solicitous to accuse, than to remedy, the evils, which they imputed to the misconduct of their adversaries. Yet the Britons were not ignorant, they could not be ignorant, of the manufacture or the use of arms: the fuccessive and disorderly attacks of the Saxons, allowed them to recover from their amazement, and the prosperous or adverse events of the war added discipline and experience to their native valour.

Their re-

While the continent of Europe and Africa yielded, without refiftance, to the Barbarians, the British island, alone and unaided, maintained a long, a vigorous, though an unsuccessful struggle, against the formidable pirates, who, almost at the same instant, assaulted the Northern, the Eastern, and the Southern coasts. The cities which

⁽¹⁵³⁾ Mr. Whitaker (History of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 503, 516.) has smartly exposed this glaring absurdity, which had passed unnoticed by the general historians, as they were hastening to more interesting and important events.

which had been fortified with skill, were defended with refolution; the advantages of ground, hills, forests, and morasses, were diligently improved by the inhabitants; the conquest of each diffrict was purchased with blood; and the defeats of the Saxons are strongly attested by the discreet silence of their annalist. Hengist might hope to atchieve the conquest of Britain; but his ambition, in an active reign of thirty-five years, was confined to the possession of Kent; and the numerous colony which he had planted in the North, was extirpated by the fword of the Britons. The monarchy of the West-Saxons was laboriously founded by the persevering efforts of three martial generations. The life of Cerdic, one of the bravest of the children of Woden, was confumed in the conquest of Hampshire, and the Isle of Wight; and the loss which he sustained in the battle of Mount Badon, reduced him to a state of inglorious repose. Kenric, his valiant fon, advanced into Wiltshire; befreged Salisbury, at that time seated on a commanding eminence; and vanquished an army which advanced to the relief of the city. In the subsequent battle of Marlborough (134), his British enemies displayed their military science. Their troops were formed in three lines; each line confifted of three diffinct bodies, and the cavalry, the archers, and the pikemen, were diftributed according to the principles of Roman tactics.

⁽¹³⁴⁾ At Beran-birig, or Barbury-castle, near Marlborough. The Saxon chronicle assigns the name and date. Cambden (Britannia, vol. i. p. 128.) ascertains the place; and Henry of Huntingdon (Scriptores post Bedam, p. 314.) relates the circumstances of this battle. They are probable and characteristic; and the historians of the twelfth century might consult some materials that so longer exist.

tactics. The Saxons charged in one weighty column, boldly encountered with their short swords the long lances of the Britons, and maintained an equal conslict till the approach of night. Two decisive victories, the death of three British kings, and the reduction of Cirencester, Bath, and Gloucester, established the same and power of Ceaulin, the grandson of Cerdic, who carried his victorious arms to the banks of the Severn.

and flight.

After a war of an hundred years, the independent Britons still occupied the whole extent of the Western coast, from the wall of Antoninus, to the extreme promontory of Cornwall; and the principal cities of the inland country still opposed the arms of the Barbarians. Relistance became more languid, as the number and boldness of the affailants continually increased. Winning their way by flow and painful efforts, the Saxons, the Angles, and their various confederates, advanced from the North, from the East, and from the South, till their victorious banners were united in the centre of the island. Beyond the Severn the Britons still afferted their national freedom. which furvived the heptarchy, and even the monarchy, of the Saxons. The bravest warriors, who preferred exile to flavery, found a fecure refuge in the mountains of Wales: the reluctant submiffion of Cornwall was delayed for fome ages (135); and a band of fugitives acquired a fettlement in Gaul, by their own valour, or the liberality of the

⁽¹³⁵⁾ Cornwall was finally subdued by Athelstan (A. D. 927—941.), who planted an English colony at Exeter, and confined the Britons beyond the river Tamar. See William of Malmsbury, I. ii. in the Scriptores post Bedam, p. 50. The spirit of the Cornish knights was degraded by servitude; and it should seem, from the romance of Sir Tristram, that their cowardice was almost proverbial.

the Merovingian kings (136). The Western angle of Armorica acquired the new appellations of Cornwall, and the Lesser Britain; and the vacant lands of the Osssmi were filled by a strange people, who, under the authority of their counts and bishops, preserved the laws and language of their ancestors. To the seeble descendants of Clovis and Charlemagne, the Britons of Armorica resused the customary tribute, subdued the neighbouring dioceses of Vannes, Rennes, and Nantes, and formed a powerful, though vassal, state, which has been united to the crown of France (137).

In a century of perpetual, or at least implaca-The fame ble, war, much courage, and some skill, must of Authur. have been exerted for the defence of Britain. Yet if the memory of its champions is almost buried in oblivion, we need not repine; since every age, however destitute of science or virtue, sufficiently abounds with acts of blood and military re-

nown

(136) The establishment of the Britons in Gaul is proved in the sixth century, by Procopius, Gregory of Tours, the second council of Tours (A. D. 567.), and the least suspicious of their chronicles and lives of saints. The subscription of a bishop of the Britons to the first council of Tours (A. D. 461. or rather 481.), the army of Riothamus, and the loose declamation of Gildas (alia transmarinas petebant regiones, c. 25, p. 8.), may countenance an emigration as early as the middle of the fifth century. Beyond that æra, the Britons of Armorica can be found only in romance; and I am surprised that Mr. Whitaker (Genuine History of the Britons, p. 214—221.) should so faithfully transcribe the gross ignorance of Carte, whose venial errors he has so rigorously chastised.

(137) The antiquities of Bretagne, which have been the subject even of political controversy, are illustrated by Hadrian Valesius (Notitia Galliarum, sub voce Britannia Cismarina, p. 98—100.), M. d'Anville (Notice de l'Ancienne Gaule, Corisopiti, Curiosolites, Osssmii, Vorganium, p. 248. 258. 508. 720. and Etats de l'Europe, p. 76—80.), Longuerue (Description de la France, tom. i. p. 84—94.), and the Abbé de Vertot (Hist. Critique de l'Etablissiment des Bretons dans les Gaules, 2 vol. in 12mo. Paris, 1720.). I may assume the merit of examining the original evidence which they have produced.

nown. The tomb of Vortimer, the fon of Vortigern, was erected on the margin of the seashore, as a landmark formidable to the Saxons, whom he had thrice vanquished in the fields of Kent. Ambrofius Aurelian was descended from a noble family of Romans (138); his modesty was equal to his valour, and his valour, till the last fatal action (139), was crowned with splendid fuccefs. But every British name is effaced by the illustrious name of ARTHUR (140), the hereditary prince of the Silures, in South Wales, and the elective king or general of the nation. According to the most rational account, he defeated, in twelve successive battles, the Angles of the North, and the Saxons of the West: but the declining age of the hero was embittered by popular ingratitude, and domestic misfortunes. The events of his life are less interesting, than the fingular revolutions of his fame. During a period of five hundred years the tradition of his exploits was preferved, and rudely embellished, by the obscure bards of Wales and Armorica, who were odious to the Saxons, and unknown to the

(138) Bede, who in his chronicle (p. 28.) places Ambrofius under the reign of Zeno (A. D. 474-491.), observes, that his parents had been "purpurâ induti;" which he explains. in his ecclesiastical history, by "regium nomen et insigne ferentibus" (l. i. c. 16. p. 53.). The expression of Nennius (c. 44. p. 110. edit. Gale) is still more singular, "Unus de consulbus gentis Romanicae est pater meus."

(139) By the unanimous, though doubtful, conjecture of our antiquarians, Ambrofius is confounded with Natanleod, who (A. D. 508.) loft his own life, and five thousand of his subjects, in a battle against Cerdic, the West Saxon (Chron. Saxon. p. 17, 18.)
(140) As I am a stranger to the West bards Myrdhin, Llo-

(140) As I am a stranger to the Welsh bards Myrdhin, Llomarch, and Taliessin, my faith in the existence and exploits of Arthur, principally rests on the simple and circumstantial testimony of Nennius (Hist. Brit. c. 62, 63. p. 114.). Mr. Whitaker (Hist. of Manchester, vol. ii. p. 31—71.) has framed an interesting, and even probable, narrative of the wars of Arthur: though it is impossible to allow the reality of the round table. rest of mankind. The pride and curiofity of the Norman conquerors, prompted them to enquire into the ancient history of Britain: they listened with fond credulity to the tale of Arthur, and eagerly applauded the merit of a prince, who had triumphed over the Saxons, their common ene-His romance, transcribed in the Latin of Jeffrey of Monmouth, and afterwards translated into the fathionable idiom of the times, was enriched with the various, though incoherent, ornaments, which were familiar to the experience, the learning, or the fancy, of the twelfth centu-The progress of a Phrygian colony, from the Tyber to the Thames, was eafily engrafted on the fable of the Æneid; and the royal anceffors of Arthur derived their origin from Troy, and claimed their alliance with the Cæsars. trophies were decorated with captive provinces, and Imperial titles; and his Danish victories avenged the recent injuries of his country. gallantry and superstition of the British hero, his feafts and tournaments, and the memorable inftitution of his Knights of the Round Table, were faithfully copied from the reigning manners of chivalry; and the fabulous exploits of Uther's fon, appear less incredible, than the adventures which were atchieved by the enterprising valour of the Normans. Pilgrimage, and the holy wars, introduced into Europe the specious miracles of Fairies, and giants, flying dra-Arabian magic. gons, and enchanted palaces, were blended with the more fimple fictions of the West; and the fate of Britain depended on the art, or the predictions of Merlin. Every nation embraced and adorned the popular romance of Arthur, and the Knights of the Round Table: their names were celebrated in Greece and Italy; and the voluminous luminous tales of Sir Lancelot and Sir Triftram were devoutly studied by the princes and nobles, who difregarded the genuine heroes and historians of antiquity. At length the light of science and reason was rekindled; the talisman was broken; the visionary fabric melted into air; and by a natural, though unjust, reverse of the public opinion, the feverity of the present age is inclined to question the existence of Arthur (140.)

Desolation

Refistance, if it cannot avert, must increase of Britain. the miseries of conquest; and conquest has never appeared more dreadful and deftructive than in the hands of the Saxons; who hated the valour of their enemies, disdained the faith of treaties, and violated, without remorfe, the most facred objects of the Christian worship. The fields of battle might be traced, almost in every district, by monuments of bones; the fragments of falling towers were stained with blood; the last of the Britons, without distinction of age and fex. was massacred (141) in the ruins of Anderida (142); and the repetition of such calamities was frequent and familiar under the Saxon heptarchy. The arts and religion, the laws and language, which the Romans had fo carefully planted in Britain,

> (140) The progress of romance, and the state of learning, in the middle ages, are illustrated by Mr. Thomas Warton, with the taste of a poet, and the minute diligence of an antiquarian. I have derived much instruction from the two learned differtations prefixed to the first volume of his History of English Poetry.

> (141) Hoc anno (490) Æila et Ciffa obsederunt Andredes-Ceaster; et interfecerunt omnes qui id incoluerunt; adeo ut ne unus Brito ibi superstes fuerit (Chron. Saxon. p. 15.); an expresfion more dreadful in its simplicity, than all the vague and tedious

lamentations of the British Jeremiah.

(142) Andredes-Ceaster, or Anderida, is placed by Camden (Britannia, vol. 1. p. 258.) at Newenden, in the marshy grounds of Kent, which might be formerly covered by the sea, and on the edge of the great forest (Anderida), which overspread so large a portion of Hampshire and Suffex

Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous fuccessors. After the destruction of the principal churches, the bishops, who had declined the crown of martyrdom, retired with the holy relics into Wales and Armorica; the remains of their flocks were left destitute of any spiritual food; the practice, and even the remembrance, of Chriftianity were abolished; and the British clergy might obtain some comfort from the damnation of the idolatrous strangers. The kings of France maintained the privileges of their Roman subjects; but the ferocious Saxons trampled on the laws of Rome, and of the emperors. The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the titles of honour, the forms of office, the ranks of fociety, and even the domestic rights of marriage, testament, and inheritance, were finally suppressed; and the indifcriminate crowd of noble and plebeian flaves was governed by the traditionary customs, which had been coarsely framed for the shepherds, and pirates, of Germany: The language of science, of business, and of conversation, which had been introduced by the Romans, was loft in the general defolation. A fufficient number of Latin or Celtic words might be affumed by the Germans, to express their new wants and ideas (143); but those illiterate Pagans preserved and established the use of their national dialect (144). Almost every name, conipicuous

(143) Dr. Johnson affirms, that few English words are of British extraction. Mr. Whitaker, who understands the British language, has discovered more than three thousand, and actually produces a long and various catalogue (vol. ii. p. 235—329). It is possible, indeed, that many of these words may have been imported from the Latin or Saxon into the native idiom of Britain.

(144) In the beginning of the feventh century, the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons mutually understood each other's language, which was derived from the same Teutonic root (Bede, 1. i. c. 25. p. 60.).

fpicuous either in the church or state, reveals its Teutonic origin (145); and the geography of England was universally inscribed with foreign characters and appellations. The example of a revolution, so rapid and so complete, may not easily be found; but it will excite a probable suspicion, that the arts of Rome were less deeply rooted in Britain than in Gaul or Spain; and that the native rudeness of the country and its inhabitants, was covered by a thin varnish of Italian manners.

Servitude.

This strange alteration has persuaded historians, and even philosophers, that the provincials of Britain were totally exterminated; and that the vacant land was again peopled by the perpetual influx, and rapid increase, of the German Three hundred thousand Saxons are colonies. faid to have obeyed the summons of Hengist (146); the entire emigration of the Angles was attested, in the age of Bede, by the solitude of their native country (147); and our experience has shewn the free propagation of the human race, if they are cast on a fruitful wilderness, where their steps are unconfined, and their subfiftence is plentiful. The Saxon kingdoms difplayed the face of recent discovery and cultivation: the towns were small, the villages were distant; the husbandry was languid and unskilful; four

(145) After the first generation of Italian, or Scottish, missionaries, the dignities of the church were filled with Saxon profesytes.

(146) Carte's History of England, vol. 1. p. 195. He quotes the British historians; but I much fear, that Jeffrey of Monmouth

(1. vi. c. 15.) is his only witness.

⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ Bede, Hift. Ecclesist. I. i. c. 15. p. 52. The fact is probable, and well attested: yet such was the loose intermixture of the German tribes, that we find, in a subsequent period, the law of the Angli and Warini of Germany (Lindenbrog. Codex, p. 479—486.).

four sheep were equivalent to an acre of the best land (148); an ample space of wood and morals was refigned to the vague dominion of nature; and the modern bishopric of Durham, the whole territory from the Tyne to the Tees, had return. ed to its primitive state of a favage and solitary forest (149). Such imperfect population might have been fupplied, in some generations, by the English colonies; but neither reason nor sacts can justify the unnatural supposition, that the Saxons of Britain remained alone in the defirt which they had fubdued. After the fanguinary Barbarians had fecured their dominion, and gratified their revenge, it was their interest to preserve the peafants, as well as the cattle, of the unrelifting country. In each fuccessive revolution, the patient herd becomes the property of its new mafters; and the falutary compact of food and labour is filently ratified by their mutual necessities. fred, the apostle of Sussex (150), accepted from his royal convert the gift of the peninfula of Selfey, near Chichefter, with the persons and property of its inhabitants, who then amounted to eighty-seven families. He released them at once from spiritual and temporal bondage; and two hundred and fifty flaves of both fexes were baptized by their indulgent mafter. The kingdom VOL. VI.-F

(148) See Dr. Henry's useful and laborious History of Great

Britain, vol. ii. p. 388.

(149) Quicquid (fays John of Tinemouth) inter Tynam et Tesam fluvios extitit sola eremi vastitudo tunc temporis suit, et ideirco nullius ditioni servivit, eo quod sola indomitorum et sylvestrium animalium spelunca et habitatio suit (apud Carte, vol. i. p. 195.). From bishop Nicholson (English Historical Library, p. 65. 98.), I understand, that sair copies of John of Tinemouth's ample Collections are preserved in the preserved in the libraries of Oxford, Lambeth, &c.

(150) See the mission of Wilfred, &c. in Bede, Hift, Eccles.

1. iv. c. 13 16. p. 155, 156. 159.

of Suffex, which spread from the sea to the Thames, contained feven thousand families: twelve hundred were ascribed to the lse of Wight: and, if we multiply this vague computation, it may feem probable, that England was cultivated by a million of fervants, or villains, who were attached to the estates of their arbitrary landlords. The indigent Barbarians were often tempted to fell their children or themselves into perpetual, and even foreign, bondage (151); yet the special exemptions, which were granted to national flaves (152), sufficiently declare, that they were much less numerous than the strangers and captives, who had loft their liberty, or changed their masters, by the accidents of war. When time and religion had mitigated the fierce spirit of the Anglo-Saxons, the laws encouraged the frequent practice of manumission; their subjects, of Welsh or Cambrian extraction, assume the respectable station of inferior freemen, possessed of lands, and intitled to the rights of civil fociety (153). Such gentle treatment might secure the allegiance of a fierce people, who had been recently subdued on the confines of Wales and Cornwall. The fage Ina, the legislator

(152) According to the laws of Ina, they could not be lawful-

ly fold beyond the feas.

⁽¹⁵¹⁾ From the concurrent testimony of Bede (l. ii. c. t. p. 78.), and William of Malmsbury (l. iii. p. 102.), it appears, that the Anglo-Saxons, from the first, to the last, age, persisted in this unnatural practice. Their youths were publicly sold in the market of Rome.

⁽¹⁵³⁾ The life of a Wallus, or Cambricus, homo, who possessed a hyde of land, is fixed at 120 shillings, by the same laws (of Ina, tit. xxxii. in Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 20.), which allowed 200 shillings for a free Saxon, and 1200 for a Thane (see likewise Leg. Anglo-Saxon. p. 71.). We may observe, that these legislators, the West-Saxons and Mercians, continued their British conquests after they became Christians. The laws of the four kings of Kent do not condescend to notice the existence of any subject Britons.

regislator of Wessex, united the two nations in the bands of domestic alliance; and four British lords of Somersetshire may be honourably distinguished in the court of a Saxon monarch (154).

The independent Britons appear to have relapf-Manners of ed into the state of original barbarism, from the Britons. whence they had been imperfectly reclaimed. Separated by their enemies from the rest of mankind, they foon became an object of fcandal and abhorrence to the Catholic world (155). Chriftianity was still professed in the mountains of Wales; but the rude schismatics, in the form of the clerical tonfure, and in the day of the celebration of Easter, obstinately resisted the imperious mandates of the Roman pontiffs. The use of the Latin language was infenfibly abolished, and the Britons were deprived of the arts and learning which Italy communicated to her Saxon profelytes In Wales and Armorica, the Celtic tongue, the native idiom of the West, was preserved and propagated; and the Bards, who had been the companions of the Druids, were still protected, in the fixteenth century, by the laws Their chief, a respectable officer of Elizabeth. of the courts of Pengwern, or Aberfraw, or Caermathaen, accompanied the king's fervants to war: the monarchy of the Britons, which he fung in the front of battle, excited their courage, and justified their depredations; and the fongster claimed for his legitimate prize the fairest heifer of the spoil. His subordinate ministers, the masters and disciples of vocal and instrumental music, A a 2 vilited,

⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ See Carte's Hist. of England, vol. i. p. 278.

⁽¹⁵⁵⁾ At the conclusion of his history (A. D. 731.), Bede defcribes the ecclesiastical state of the island, and censures the implacable, though impotent, hatred of the Britons against the English nation, and the Catholic church (l. v. c. 23. p. 219.).

vifited, in their respective circuits, the royal, the noble, and the plebeian houses; and the public poverty, almost exhausted by the clergy, was oppressed by the importunate demands of the bards. Their rank and merit were ascertained by folemn trials, and the ftrong belief of supernatural inspiration exalted the fancy of the poet, and of his audience (157). The last retreats of Celtic freedom, the extreme territories of Gaul and Britain, were less adapted to agriculture than to pasturage: the wealth of the Britons consisted in their flocks and herds; milk and flesh were their ordinary food; and bread was fometimes effeemed, or rejected, as a foreign luxury. Liberty had peopled the mountains of Wales and the moraffes of Armorica: but their populousness has been maliciously ascribed to the loose practice of polygamy; and the houses of these licentious barbarians have been supposed to contain ten wives, and perhaps fifty children (158). Their disposition was rash and choleric: they were bold in action and in speech (159); and as they were ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestic war. The cavalry of Armorica, the spearmen of Gwent,

(158) Regio longe lateque diffusa, milite, magis quam credibile sit, referta. Partibus equidem in illis miles unus quinquaginta generat, sortitus more barbaro denas aut amplius uxores. This reproach of William of Pottiers (in the Historians of France, tom. xi. p. 88.) is disclaimed by the Benedictine editors.

(159) Giraldus Cambrensis confines this gift of bold and ready eloquence to the Romans, the French, and the Britons. The maticious Welshman infinuates, that the English tacitumity might

possibly be the effect of their servitude under the Normans.

⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ Mr. Pennant's Tour in Wales (p. 426—449.) has furnished me with a curious and interesting account of the Welsh bards. In the year 1568, a session was held at Caerwys by the special command of queen Elizabeth, and regular degrees in vocal and instrumental music were conferred on fifty-five minstrels. The prize (a silver harp) was adjudged by the Mostyn family.

and the archers of Merioneth, were equally formidable; but their poverty could feldom procure e ther shields or helmets; and the inconvenient weight would have retarded the speed and agility of their desultory operations. One of the greatest of the English monarchs was requested to satisfy the curiosity of a Greek emperor concerning the state of Britain; and Henry II. could assert, from his personal experience, that Wales was inhabited by a race of naked warriors, who encountered, without fear, the defensive armour of their enemies (160).

By the revolution of Britain, the limits of fci-Obscure or ence, as well as of empire, were contracted. fabulous The dark cloud, which had been cleared by the Britain. Phœnician discoveries, and finally dispelled by the arms of Cæfar, again fettled on the shores of the Atlantic, and a Roman province was again loft among the fabulous islands of the Ocean. One hundred and fifty years after the reign of Honorius, the gravest historian of the times (161) describes the wonders of a remote ifle, whose eaftern and western parts are divided by an antique wall, the boundary of life and denth, or, more properly, of truth and fiction. The east is a fair country, inhabited by a civilized people; the air is healthy, the waters are pure and plentiful, and the earth yields her regular and fruitful increase. In the west, beyond the wall, the air

(160) The picture of Welsh and Armorican manners is drawn from Giraldus (Descript. Cambrice, c. 6—15. inter Script. Cambden. p. 886—891.), and the authors quoted by the Abbe de Vertot (Hist. Critique, tom. ii. p. 259—266.).

⁽¹⁶¹⁾ See Procopius de Bell. Gothic. I. iv. c. 20. p. 620-625. The Greek historian is himself so consounded by the wonders which he relates, that he weakly attempts to distinguish the islands of Brittia and Britain, which he has identified by so many inseparable circumstances.

is infectious and mortal; the ground is covered with ferpents; and this dreary folitude is the region of departed spirits, who are transported from the opposite shores in substantial boats, and by living rowers. Some families of fishermen, the subjects of the Franks, are excused from tribute, in confideration of the mysterious office which is performed by these Charons of the ocean. Each in his turn is summoned, at the hour of midnight, to hear the voices, and even the names, of the ghosts: he is sensible of their weight, and he feels himself impelled by an unknown, but irrefistible, power. After this dream of fancy, we read with aftonishment, that the name of this island is Brittia; that it lies in the ocean, against the mouth of the Rhine, and less than thirty miles from the continent; that it is possessed by three nations, the Frisians, the Angles, and the Britons; and that some Angles had appeared at Constantinople, in the train of the French ambassadors. From these ambassadors Procopius might be informed of a fingular, though not improbable, adventure, which announces the spirit, rather than the delicacy, of an English heroine. She had been betrothed to Radiger king of the Varni, a tribe of Germans who touched the ocean and the Rhine; but the perfidious lover was tempted, by motives of policy, to prefer his father's widow, the fifter of Theodebert king of the Franks (162). The forfaken prin-

⁽¹⁶²⁾ Theodebert, grandson of Clovis, and king of Austrasia, was the most powerful and warlike prince of the age; and this remarkable adventure may be placed between the years 534 and 547, the extreme terms of his reign. His sister Theudechildis retired to Sens, where she founded monasteries, and distributed alms (see the notes of the Benedictine editors, in tom. ii. p. 216.). If we may credit the praises of Fortunatus (l. vi. carm. 5. in tom. ii. p. 507.), Radiger was deprived of a most valuable wife.

cess of the Angles, instead of bewailing, revenged her disgrace. Her warlike subjects are faid to have been ignorant of the use, and even of the form, of an horse; but she boldly sailed from Britain to the mouth of the Rhine, with a fleet of four hundred ships, and an army of one hundred thousand men. After the loss of a battle, the captive Radiger implored the mercy of his victorious bride, who generously pardoned his offence, difmissed her rival, and compelled the king of the Warni to discharge with honour and fidelity the duties of an husband (163). This gallant exploit appears to be the last naval enterprise of the Anglo-Saxons. The arts of navigation, by which they had acquired the empire of Britain and of the fea, were foon neglected by the indolent Barbarians, who fupinely renounced all the commercial advantages of their infular fituation. Seven independent kingdoms were agitated by perpetual discord; and the British world was seldom connected, either in peace or war, with the nations of the continent (164).

I have now accomplished the laborious narra-Fall of the tive of the decline and fall of the Roman empire, empire in from the West.

(163) Perhaps she was the fister of one of the princes or chiefs of the Angles, who landed in 527, and the following years, between the Humber and the Thames, and gradually founded the kingdoms of East-Anglia and Mercia. The English writers are ignorant of her name and existence: but Procopius may have suggested to Mr. Rowe the character and situation of Rodugune in the tragedy of the Royal Convert.

(164) In the copious history of Gregory of Tours, we cannot find any traces of hollile or friendly intercourse between France and England, except in the marriage of the daughter of Caribert king of Paris, quam regis cujusdam in Cantia filius matrimonio copulavit (l. ix. c. 26. in tom. ii. p. 348.) The bishop of Tours ended his history and his life almost immediately before the conversion of Kent.

from the fortunate age of Trajan and the Antonines, to its total extinction in the West, about five centuries after the Christian æra. At that unhappy period, the Saxons fiercely firuggled with the natives for the possession of Britain Gaul and Spain were divided between the powerful monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians: Africa was exposed to the cruel perfecution of the Vandals, and the favage infults of the Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were afflicted by an army of Barbarian mercenaties, whose lawless tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodoric the Offrogoth. All the subjects of the empire, who, by the use of the Latin language, more particularly deserved the name and privileges of Romans, were oppressed by the difference and calamities of foreign conquest; and the victorious nations of Germany established a new system of manners and government in the western countries of Europe. The majesty of Rome was faintly represented by the princes of Constantinople, the feeble and imaginary fucceffors of Augustus. Yes they continued to reign over the East, from the Danube to the Nile and Tigris; the Gothic and Vandal kingdoms of Italy and Africa were subverted by the arms of Justinian; and the history of the Greek emperors may still afford a long feries of instructive lessons, and interesting revolutions.

General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West.

HE Greeks, after their country had been reduced into a province, imputed the triumphs of Rome, not to the merit, but to the FORTUNE, of the republic. The inconstant goddefs, who so blindly diffributes and resumes her favours, had now confented (fuch was the language of envious flattery) to refign her wings, to descend from her globe, and to fix her firm and immutable throne on the banks of the Tyber (1). A wifer Greek, who has composed, with a philofophic spirit, the memorable history of his own times, deprived his countrymen of this vain and delusive comfort, by opening to their view the deep foundations of the greatness of Rome (2). The fidelity of the citizens to each other, and to the flate, was confirmed by the habits of education, and the prejudices of religion. Honour, as well as virtue, was the principle of the republic; the ambitious citizens laboured to deferve the folemn

(2) See the inestimable remains of the fixth book of Polybius, and many other parts of his general history, particularly a digreffion in the seventeenth book, in which he compares the phalans and the legion.

⁽¹⁾ Such are the figurative expressions of Plutarch (Opera, tom. ii. p. 318. edit. Wechel), to whom, on the faith of his son Lamprias (Fabricius, Bibliot. Græc. tom. iii. p. 341.), I shall boldly impute the malicious declamation, πεςι της Ρωμαίων τυχης. The same opinions had prevailed among the Greeks two hundred and fifty years before Plutarch; and to confute them is the professed intention of Polybius (Hist. l. i. p. 90. edit. Gronov. Amstel. 1670.).

folemn glories of a triumph; and the ardour of the Roman youth was kindled into active emulation, as often as they beheld the domestic images of their ancestors (3). The temperate struggles of the patricians and plebeians had finally established the firm and equal balance of the constitution; which united the freedom of popular affemblies, with the authority and wisdom of a fenate, and the executive powers of a regal magiftrate. When the conful displayed the standard of the republic, each citizen bound himself, by the obligation of an oath, to draw his fword in the cause of his country, till he had discharged the facred duty by a military fervice of ten years. This wife inftitution continually poured into the field the rifing generations of freemen and foldiers; and their numbers were reinforced by the warlike and populous states of Italy, who, after a brave refistance, had yielded to the valour, and embraced the alliance, of the Romans. The fage historian, who excited the virtue of the younger Scipio, and beheld the ruin of Carthage (4), has accurately described their military system; their levies, arms, exercises, subordination, marches, encampments; and the invincible legion, superior in active strength to the Macedonian phalanx of Philip and Alexander. From these institutions of peace and war, Polybius has deduced the spirit and fuccess of a people, incapable of fear, and impatient

⁽³⁾ Sallust beard the generous professions of P. Scipio and Q. Maximus (de Bell. Jugurthin. c. 4.); yet these noble brothers were dead many years before the birth of Sallust. But the Latin historian had read, and most probably transcribes, Polybius, their contemporary and friend.

⁽⁴⁾ While Carthage was in flames, Scipio repeated two lines of the Iliad, which express the destruction of Troy, acknowledging to Polybius, his friend and preceptor (Polyb. in Excerpt. de Virtut. et Vit. tom. ii. p. 1455—1465), that while he recollected the vicissitudes of human affairs, he inwardly applied them to the future calamities of Rome (Appian, in Libycis, p. 136, edit. Toll.).

impatient of repose. The ambitious design of conquest, which might have been deseated by the seasonable conspiracy of mankind, was attempted and atchieved; and the perpetual violation of justice was maintained by the political virtues of prudence and courage. The arms of the republic, sometimes vanquished in battle, always victorious in war, advanced with rapid steps to the Euphrates, the Danube, the Rhine, and the Ocean; and the images of gold, or silver, or brass, that might serve to represent the nations and their kings, were successively broken by the iron

monarchy of Rome (5).

The rife of a city, which swelled into an empire, may deferve, as a fingular prodigy, the reflection of a philosophic mind. But the decline of Rome was the natural and inevitable effect of immoderate greatness. Prosperity ripened the principle of decay; the causes of destruction multiplied with the extent of conquest; and as foon as time or accident had removed the artificial supports, the stupendous fabric yielded to the pressure of its own weight. The story of its ruin is simple and obvious; and instead of enquiring why the Roman empire was destroyed, we should rather be furprised that it had sublisted so long. The victorious legions, who, in diffant wars acquired the vices of strangers and mercenaries, first oppressed the freedom of the republic, and afterwards violated the majesty of the Purple. The emperors, anxious for their personal safety and the public peace, were reduced to the base expedient

⁽⁵⁾ See Daniel ii. 31—40. "And the fourth kingdom shall be throng as iron; forasmuch as iron breaketh in pieces, and sub-dueth all things." The remainder of the prophecy (the mixture of iron and clay) was accomplished, according to St. Jerom, in his own time. Sicut enim in principio nihil Romano Imperio fortius et durius, ita in fine rerum nihil imbecillius: quum et in bellis civilibus et adversus diversas nationes, altarum gentium barbararum auxilio indigemus (Opera, tom. v. p. 572.).

expedient of corrupting the discipline which rendered them alike formidable to their sovereign and to the enemy; the vigour of the military government was relaxed, and finally dissolved, by the partial institutions of Constantine; and the Roman world was overwhelmed by a deluge of Barbarians.

The decay of Rome has been frequently aferibed to the translation of the feat of empire; but this history has already shewn, that the powers of government were divided, rather than removed. The throne of Conftantinople was erected in the East; while the West was still possessed by a feries of emperors who held their refidence in Italy, and claimed their equal inheritance of the legions and provinces. This dangerous novelty impaired the strength, and fomented the vices, of a double reign: the instruments of an oppressive and arbitrary system were multiplied; and a vain emulation of luxury, not of merit, was introduced and supported between the degenerate successors of Theodosius. Extreme diffres, which unites the virtue of a free people, embitters the factions of a declining monarchy. The hostile favourities of Arcadius and Honorius betrayed the republic to its common enemies; and the Byzantine court beheld with indifference, perhaps with pleasure, the disgrace of Rome, the misfortunes of Italy, and the loss of the West. Under the succeeding reigns, the alliance of the two empires was reftored; but the aid of the Oriental Romans was tardy, doubtful, and ineffectual; and the national schism of the Greeks and Latins was enlarged by the perpetual difference of language and manners, of interest, and even of religion. Yet the falutary event approved in some measure the judgment of Conftanting,

Constantine. During a long period of decay, his impregnable city repelled the victorious armies of Barbarians, protected the wealth of Asia, and commanded, both in peace and war, the important streights which connect the Euxine and Mediterranean seas. The foundation of Constantinople more essentially contributed to the preservation of the East, than to the ruin of the West.

As the happiness of a future life is the great object of religion, we may hear without furprise or scandal, that the introduction, or at least the abuse, of Christianity, had some influence on the decline and fall of the Roman empire. The clergy fuccessfully preached the doctrines of patience and pufillanimity; the active virtues of fociety were discouraged; and the last remains of military spirit were buried in the cloyster: a large portion of public and private wealth was confecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion; and the foldiers pay was lavished on the useless multitudes of both fexes, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. zeal, curiofity, and the more earthly passions of malice and ambition, kindled the flame of theological discord; the church, and even the state, were distracted by religious factions, whose conflicts were fometimes bloody, and always implacable: the attention of the emperors was diverted from camps to fynods; the Roman world was oppressed by a new species of tyranny; and the persecuted sects became the secret enemies of their country. Yet party-spirit, however pernicious or abfurd, is a principle of union as well as The bishops, from eighteen hunof diffention. dred pulpits, inculcated the duty of passive obedience to a lawful and orthodox fovereign; their frequent affemblies, and perpetual correspondence,

dence, maintained the communion of distant churches; and the benevolent temper of the gofpel was strengthened, though confined, by the fpiritual alliance of the Catholics. The facred indolence of the monks was devoutly embraced by a fervile and effeminate age; but if superstition had not afforded a decent retreat, the same vices would have tempted the unworthy Romans to defert, from baser motives, the standard of the republic. Religious precepts are eafily obeyed, which indulge and fanctify the natural inclinations of their votaries; but the pure and genuine influence of Christianity may be traced in its beneficial, though imperfect, effects on the Barbarian profelytes of the North. If the decline of the Roman empire was haftened by the conversion of Constantine, his victorious religion broke the violence of the fall, and mollified the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

This awful revolution may be usefully applied to the instruction of the present age. It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclufive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to confider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation. The balance of power will continue to fluctuate, and the prosperity of our own, or the neighbouring kingdoms, may be alternately exalted or depressed; but these partial events cannot effentially injure our general flate of happiness, the system of arts, and laws, and manners, which fo advantageously distinguish, above the rest of mankind, the Europeans and their colonies. The favage nations of the globe are the common enemies of civilifed

civilifed fociety; and we may enquire with anxious curiofity, whether Europe is still threatened with a repetition of those calamities, which formerly oppressed the arms and institutions of Rome. Perhaps the same reslections will illustrate the fall of that mighty empire, and explain the probable causes of our actual security.

I. The Romans were ignorant of the extent of their danger, and the number of their enemies. Beyond the Rhine and Danube, the northern countries of Europe and Afia were filled with innumerable tribes of hunters and shepherds. poor, voracious, and turbulent; bold in arms, and impatient to ravish the fruits of industry. The Barbarian word was agitated by the rapid impulse of war; and the peace of Gaul or Italy was shaken by the distant revolutions of China. The Huns, who fled before a victorious enemy, directed their march towards the West; and the torrent was fwelled by the gradual accession of captives and allies. The flying tribes who yielded to the Huns, assumed in their turn the spirit of conquest; the endless column of Barbarians pressed on the Roman empire with accumulated weight; and, if the foremost were destroyed, the vacant space was instantly replenished by new affailants. Such formidable emigrations no longer issue from the North; and the long repose, which has been imputed to the decrease of population, is the happy confequence of the progress Instead of some rude of arts and agriculture. villages, thinly feattered among its woods and moraffes, Germany now produces a lift of two thousand three hundred walled towns: the Christian kingdoms of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland have been successively established; and the Hanse

Hanse merchants, with the Teutonic knights. have extended their colonies along the coast of the Baltic, as far as the Gulf of Finland. From the Gulf of Finland to the Eastern Ocean, Russia now assumes the form of a powerful and civilised empire. The plough, the loom, and the forge are introduced on the banks of the Volga, the Oby, and the Lena; and the fiercest of the Tartar hords have been taught to tremble and obey. The reign of independent Barbarism is now contracted to a narrow span; and the remnant of Calmucks or Uzbeks, whose forces may be almost numbered, cannot seriously excite the apprehensions of the great republic of Europe (6). Yet this apparent fecurity should not tempt us to forget, that new enemies, and unknown dangers, may possibly arise from some obscure people, fearcely visible in the map of the world. Arabs or Saracens, who spread their conquests from India to Spain, had languished in poverty and contempt, till Mahomet breathed into those favage bodies the foul of enthufiafm.

II. The empire of Rome was firmly established by the singular and perfect coalition of its members. The subject nations, resigning the hope, and even the wish, of independence, embraced the character of Roman citizens; and the provinces of the West were reluctantly torn by the

⁽⁶⁾ The French and English editors of the Genealogical History of the Tartars have subjoined a curious, though imperfect, description of their present state. We might question the independence of the Calmucks, or Eluths, since they have been recently ranquished by the Chinese, who, in the year 1759, subdued the lesser Bucharia, and advanced into the country of Badakshan, near the sources of the Oxus (Memoires sur les Chinois, tom. i. p. 325—400.). But these conquests are precarious, nor will I renture to ensure the safety of the Chinese empire.

the Barbarians from the bosom of their mothercountry (7). But this union was purchased by the loss of national freedom and military spirit; and the servile provinces, destitute of life and motion, expected their fafety from the mercenary troops and governors, who were directed by the orders of a diftant court. The happiness of an hundred millions depended on the personal merit of one, or two, men, perhaps children, whose minds were corrupted by education, luxury, and despotic power. The deepest wounds were inflicted on the empire during the minorities of the fons and grandfons of Theodofius; and, after those incapable princes seemed to attain the age of manhood, they abandoned the church to the bishops, the state to the eunuchs, and the provinces to the Barbarians. Europe is now divided into twelve powerful, though unequal, kingdoms, three respectable commonwealths, and a variety of smaller, though independent, states: the chances of royal and ministerial talents are multiplied, at least, with the number of its rulers: and a Julian, or Semiramis, may reign in the North, while Arcadius and Honorius flumber on the thrones of the house of Bourbon. The abuses of tyranny are restrained by the mutual influence of fear and shame; republics have acquired order and stability; monarchies have imbibed the principles of freedom, or, at least, of moderation; and fome fense of honour and inflice is introduced into the most defective con-VOL. VI.-F Bb**flitutions**

⁽⁷⁾ The prudent reader will determine how far this general proposition is weakened by the revolt of the Isaurians, the independence of Britain and Armorica, the Moorish tribes, or the Bagaudæ of Gaul and Spain (vol. i. p. 340. vol. iii. p. 273-337-434.).

stitutions by the general manners of the times. In peace, the progress of knowledge and industry is accelerated by the emulation of fo many active rivals: in war, the European forces are exercised by temperate and undecifive contests. If a favage conqueror should iffue from the deferts of Tartary, he must repeatedly vanquish the robust pealants of Russia, the numerous armies of Germany, the gallant nobles of France, and the intrepid freemen of Britain; who, perhaps, might confederate for their common defence. Should the victorious Barbarians carry flavery and defolation as far as the Atlantic Ocean, ten thousand veffels would transport beyond their pursuit the remains of civilifed fociety; and Europe would revive and flourish in the American world, which is already filled with her colonies, and institutions (8).

III. Cold, poverty, and a life of danger and fatigue, fortify the strength and courage of Barbarians. In every age they have oppressed the polite and peaceful nations of China, India, and Perfia, who neglected, and still neglect, to counterbalance these natural powers by the resources of military art. The warlike states of antiquity. Greece, Macedonia, and Rome, educated a race of foldiers; exercised their bodies, disciplined their courage, multiplied their forces by regular evolutions, and converted the iron, which they

possessed

⁽⁸⁾ America now contains about fix millions of European b'ood and descent; and their numbers, at least in the North, are continually increasing. Whatever may be the changes of their political fituation, they must preserve the manners of Europe; and we may reflect with some pleasure, that the English language will probably be diffused over an immense and populous continent.

possessed, into strong and serviceable weapons. But this superiority insensibly declined with their laws and manners; and the feeble policy of Conftantine and his fucceffors armed and instructed, for the ruin of the empire, the rude valour of the Barbarian mercenaries. The military art has been changed by the invention of gunpowder; which enables man to command the two most powerful agents of nature, air and fire. Mathematics, chymistry, mechanics, architecture, have been applied to the fervice of war; and the adverse parties oppose to each other the most elaborate modes of attack and of defence. Historians may indignantly observe, that the preparations of a fiege would found and maintain a flourishing colony (9); yet we cannot be displeased, that the subversion of a city should be a work of cost and difficulty; or that an industrious people should be protected by those arts, which survive and supply the decay of military virtue. Cannon and fortifications now form an impregnable barrier against the Tartar horse; and Europe is secure from any future irruption of Barbarians; fince, before they can conquer, they must cease to be barbarous. Their gradual advances in the science of war would always be accompanied, as we may learn from

⁽⁹⁾ On avoit fait venir (for the fiege of Turin) 140 pieces de canon; et il est à remarquer que chaque gros canon monté revient à environ 2000 ecus: il y avoit 110,000 boulets; 106,000 cartouches d'une façon, et 300,000 d'une autre; 21,000 bombes; 27,700 grenades, 15,000 sacs à terre, 30,000 instrumens pour le pionnage; 1,200,000 livres de poudre. Ajoutez à ces munitions, le plomb, le fer, et le fer-blanc, les cordages, tout ce qui sert aux mineurs, le souphre, le salpêtre, les outils de toute espece. Il est certain que les frais de tous ces préparatifs de destruction sufficient pour sonder et pour saire fleurir la plus nombreuse co-lonie. Voltaire, Siécle de Louis XIV. c. xx. in his Works, tom. xi. p. 391.

from the example of Russia, with a proportionable improvement in the arts of peace and civil policy; and they themselves must deserve a place among the polished nations whom they subdue.

Should these speculations be found doubtful or fallacious, there still remains a more humble fource of comfort and hope. The discoveries of ancient and modern navigators, and the domestic history, or tradition, of the most enlightened nations, represent the buman savage, naked both in mind and body, and destitute of laws, of arts, of ideas, and almost of language (10). From this abject condition, perhaps the primitive and universal state of man, he has gradually arisen to command the animals, to fertilife the earth, to traverse the ocean, and to measure the heavens. His progress in the improvement and exercise of his mental and corporeal faculties (11) has been irregular and various; infinitely flow in the beginning, and increasing by degrees with redoubled velocity: ages of laborious ascent have been followed by a moment of rapid downfal; and the feveral climates of the globe have felt the viciffitudes of light and darkness. Yet the experience of

(11) See the learned and rational work of the President Goguer, de l'Origine des Loix, des Arts et des Sciences. He traces from facts, or conjectures (tom. i. p. 147-337. edit. 12mo.), the sire

and most difficult steps of human invention.

⁽¹⁰⁾ It would be an easy, though tedious task, to produce the authorities of poets, philosophers, and historians. I shall therefore content myself with appealing to the decisive and authentic testimony of Diodorus Siculus (tom. i. l. i. p. 11, 12. l. iii. p. 184, &c. edit. Wesseling.). The Isthyophagi, who in his time wandered along the shores of the Red Sea, can only be compared to the natives of New Holland (Dampier's Voyages, vol. i. p. 464—469.). Fancy, or perhaps reason, may still suppose an extreme and absolute state of nature far below the level of these savages, who had acquired some arts and instruments.

of four thousand years should enlarge our hopes, and diminish our apprehensions: we cannot determine to what height the human species may aspire in their advances towards perfection; but it may fafely be prefumed, that no people, unless the face of nature is changed, will relapse into their original barbarism. The improvements of fociety may be viewed under a threefold aspect. 1. The poet or philosopher illustrates his age and country by the efforts of a fingle mind; but thefe fuperior powers of reason or fancy are rare and fpontaneous productions; and the genius of Homer, or Cicero, or Newton, would excite less admiration, if they could be created by the will of a prince, or the lessons of a preceptor. 2. The benefits of law and policy, of trade and manufactures, of arts and sciences, are more solid and permanent; and many individuals may be qualified, by education and discipline, to promote, in their respective stations, the interest of the community. But this general order is the effect of skill and labour; and the complex machinery may be decayed by time, or injured by violence. 3. Fortunately for mankind, the more useful, or, at least, more necessary arts, can be performed without superior talents, or national subordination; without the powers of one, or the union of many. Each village, each family, each individual, must always possess both ability and inclination, to perpetuate the use of fire (12) and of me-

⁽¹²⁾ It is certain, however strange, that many nations have been ignorant of the use of fire. Even the ingenious natives of Otaheite, who are destitute of metals, have not invented any earthen vessels capable of sustaining the action of fire, and of communicating the heat to the liquids which they contain.

tals; the propagation and fervice of domestic animals; the methods of hunting and fishing; the rudiments of navigation; the imperfect cultivation of corn, or other nutritive grain; and the fimple practice of the mechanic trades. Private genius and public industry may be extirpated; but these hardy plants survive the tempest, and strike an everlasting root into the most unfavourable foil. The splendid days of Augustus and Trajan were eclipsed by a cloud of ignorance; and the Barbarians subverted the laws and palaces of Rome. But the fcythe, the invention or emblem of Saturn (13), still continued annually to mow the harvests of Italy; and the human feasts of the Læstrigons (14) have never been renewed on the coast of Campania.

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal have diffused, among the savages of the Old and New World, these inestimable gifts: they have been successively propagated; they can never be lost. We may therefore acquiesce in the pleasing conclusion, that every age of the world has increased, and still increases, the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue, of the hu-

man race (15).

(14) In the ninth and tenth books of the Odyffey, Homer has embellished the tales of fearful and credulous failors, who transformed the cannibals of Italy and Sicily into monstrous giants.

⁽¹³⁾ Plutarch. Quæst. Rom. in tom. ii. p. 275. Macrob. Saturnal. l. i. c. 8. p. 152. edit. London. The arrival of Saturn (of his religious worship) in a ship, may indicate, that the savage coast of Latium was first discovered and civilized by the Phoenicians.

⁽¹⁵⁾ The merit of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice. A singular exception is due to the virtue of our own times and country.

The five great voyages successively undertaken by the command of his present Majesty, were inspired by the pure and generous love of science and of mankind. The same prince, adapting his benefactions to the different stages of society, has sounded a school of painting in his capital; and has introduced into the islands of the South Sea, the vegetables and animals most useful to human life.

END OF THE SIXTH VOLUME.